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LINCOLN AND CONSCRIPTION *

BY CARL SANDBURG

While considering further draft legislation the House of Representatives in February of '64 had requested of the President a statement showing the number of re-enlisted veteran volunteers from each state. The President's reply was the transmissal of a letter from the Secretary of War who believed "it would prove prejudicial to the public service" for the House to receive the information requested. Month by month fewer volunteers came forward, a lesser proportion of veterans re-enlisted. A statement of the exact numbers would have been welcomed by administration critics.

Speaking in this February of '64 for a group of senators never quite able to muster a majority of votes for what they wanted in a conscription act, Senator Henry S. Lane of Indiana said the operation of the \$300 clause had not been in favor of the poor man: "The poor man had to go at all events; he could not raise the \$300; but it has operated, perhaps, beneficially upon the middle classes, and has exempted the rich entirely, for they could all pay the \$300 exemption." He had regrets that throughout the whole country the \$300 exemption feature had been denounced "as class legislation in favor of the rich and against the poor." He had come to the definite opinion, "We cannot fill our armies under any

*This paper is a part of Carl Sandburg's forthcoming book on Lincoln's presidency—the sequel to *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*.

conscription law which retains the \$300 clause." In his own state it operated to this effect: "Those who are indisposed to go into the Army, as long as they can shield themselves under the \$300 exemption clause, will not volunteer. If you repeal that clause there is an additional inducement held out to them to go into the service of the country." What did it matter that \$12,000,000 had been paid into the Government Treasury for draft exemptions? The measure was not intended to raise revenue. "We need men more than money. If we could print soldiers as fast as we print greenbacks, there would be something in this argument; but it cannot be done."

Since August of '63 Lincoln had carried further the points he then wrote on the \$300 clause. He had then found his written argument for it not worth giving to the people. As a method it was more than doubtful. The natural and expected difficulties of draft enforcement had to carry an added load because of one feature which gave color to the cry of the New York City rioters that the war took "the rich man's money and the poor man's blood."

Lincoln's young friend Brooks, under the heading "The Draft a Failure," wrote for the *Sacramento Union* an article "not pleasant to write," he confessed. "So far as results are concerned, the Conscription Law has failed to produce men enough to swell the armies of the Union to anything like their maximum standard." This he would ascribe first to "the too liberal margin for exemption from service on account of physical disability," and secondly to "the incompetence and weakness, to say the least, of enrolling officers and examining officers." The weakness which Brooks believed he

saw had to do with personal advantages, personal favors, or actual money payments which eventuated in men well able to go to the army fronts staying at home. "Discouraging and sickening" were the details that came to Brooks from New England. "Men perfectly able-bodied and hale have been exempted on the grounds of physical disability; and it is notorious that such exemption was the result of favoritism, political chicanery, or downright bribery." And throughout the country "a system of corruption, imbecility, and mismanagement has characterized the machinery of the draft, which has tended to bring the measure into disrepute and has filled the hearts of all loyal and patriotic men with sorrow and mortification. The traitorous doings of these wretches which have come to my own personal knowledge would fill pages."

Now the matter of conscription was one wherein Congress had kept to itself certain very strict powers. The President could be a dictator in enforcement of the draft law but as to what that law provided, whether the commutation should be \$300, \$500, \$100, or whether no man could buy exemption with money—Congress held the powers and the President was no dictator at all. He was limited to *advising* Congress what the draft law should say. And so, Executive Document Number 97 went to Congress.

The first item in this document had the signature of Abraham Lincoln, the date of June 8, 1864, the address "*To the Senate and House of Representatives*," and the text: "I have the honor to submit for the consideration of Congress a letter and enclosure from the Secretary of War, *with my concurrence in the recommendation therein made*." The letter enclosed, signed by Stanton and ad-

dressed "To the President," recommended "a repeal of the clause in the enrolment act commonly known as the three hundred dollar clause." By a maintenance of military strength, giving it such increase as extended operations required, an early termination of the war might be attained, suggested the war minister.

But to accomplish this it is absolutely necessary that efficient means be taken, with vigor and promptness, to keep the army up to its strength, and supply deficiencies occasioned by the losses sustained by casualties in the field. To that end resort must be had to a draft; but ample experience has now shown that *the pecuniary exemption from service frustrates the object of the enrolment law by furnishing money instead of men.*

Attached to Stanton's recommendation was a report signed by James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, on the operation of the enrollment act as amended by Congress on February 24, 1864. No one would have said, on scrutiny of Fry's report, that he was trying to laugh in the face of Congress over the results of its draft legislation. The matter was in a realm beyond laughter. It was a commentary some would laugh at and others study somberly. It charted the patriotic response to the President's needs in the spring of '64. General Fry, Secretary Stanton, and the President himself endorsed the figures showing "the results of this draft, so far as shown by reports to this date . . . from sub-districts in eight different States, for their respective deficiencies on quotas of troops."

Number of drafted men examined	14,741
Number exempted for physical disability	4,374
Number exempted for all other causes	2,632
<hr/>	
Total exempted	7,016
Number paid commutation money	5,050
Number who have furnished substitutes	1,416

Number held for personal service.....	1,259	
(This last includes some who may yet pay commutation money.)		_____
Total not exempted.....	7,725	

General Fry noted:

I invite your attention to the small proportion of soldiers being obtained under the existing law. I see no reason to believe that the army can be materially strengthened by draft so long as the \$300 clause is in force, nor do I think it safe to assume that the commutation paid by a drafted man will enable the government to procure a volunteer or substitute in his place. I do not think that bounties by the United States should be again resorted to for raising troops. I recommend that the \$300 clause, as it is known, be repealed.

And this recommendation, said the President's letter of transmissal, was submitted to Congress "with my concurrence." Many months of involved administration of a draft law discriminating in favor of those having \$300, as against those who hadn't, indicated positively to the President that another conscription act, beyond the reproach of class discrimination, would bring more troops and a war record less spotted.

Congressman Schenck brought before the House a bill to repeal previous draft laws. It declared "hereafter no payment of money shall be accepted or received by the Government to release any enrolled or drafted men from obligation to perform military duty." One exception was made. Any man could send a substitute for himself if it be his "father, brother, or son." Schenck's opening speech was in a tone as though he might have come from a conference with Lincoln on the bill, mentioning the President of the United States as seeing "the necessity for having men and not money only with which to carry on this war against the rebels, and finding the present existing enrollment act does not produce

men by a draft, because of the various circumstances . . . such as commutation and substitution, and other things which intervene to prevent the procuring of men."

Peculiar features of the draft stood out from Schenck's speech. He pointed to the \$300 clause by which any man wishing to escape the army would pay the government that amount of money with which to hire some man not in the draft. Also he pointed to another clause by which any drafted man could hire an able-bodied substitute, at a price arranged between himself and the substitute, a current market figure in the substitute market which had become wide and flourishing. Both the \$300 bounty clause and the substitute clause would be struck out by the Schenck bill. To repeal the \$300 clause and let the substitute clause stand would run the price of substitutes up beyond the reach of drafted men of limited means. Schenck said:

The truth is that so far as the \$300 clause operates it operates to the protection of men of limited means, and therefore I say that if you repeal it and go no further you leave them a right to complain that you run up substitutes in the market so as to make it impossible for them to obtain substitutes and compel them to go. Seeing the difficulty, the committee go one step further, and in the second section propose to repeal the provision allowing substitutes to be taken.

Schenck was speaking for the Military Affairs Committee in laying down the principle that the draft act should make "no exceptions at all," as in any case where a substitute could be hired "a man of means will have the advantage over the others." He raised a class issue in his argument, saying the committee proposed such limits in conscription that "no man, whether a man of means or not, whether rich or poor, shall in any case get rid of furnishing a substitute unless it be one of his own blood."

James G. Blaine of Maine moved to strike out the first section of the bill, saying it was made to appear "that the *people* need to be goaded and driven," saying a *compulsory* draft would require troops to shoot down rioters and demonstrators, saying the people were "patriotically willing" and there was no necessity for a conscription "absolutely merciless and sweeping," saying the draft as it was being enforced would bring "a very large amount of money with which to pay bounties to volunteers." His own state was raising its quota, said Blaine; other parts of the Union might be disorderly but not Maine.

John W. Chanler of New York said that though the bill masked itself as "the poor man's friend" it was nevertheless drawn from "the horrid example of the European system of government" which, requiring universal selective military service, "outrages all the affections of family and ties of blood." The section of the bill which would give the President authority to call a draft at his discretion would develop the hideous monster of war under the plea of military necessity, a power unheard of before this administration. "The President is given unlimited control over the lives of every family in the land."

The debate was brief, its record taking only four pages of the *Congressional Globe*. Blaine moved to strike out the first section of the bill. If Blaine's motion should pass it would kill the bill and defeat Lincoln, Stanton, Schenck and the Military Affairs Committee in their attempt to get universal selective military service, making money payments unlawful. "Do not, I pray you," cried Blaine, "by any action here proclaim to the world that you have no faith in the loyal people

of the United States." The yeas and nays were called for. And the President, the War Department and Schenck, were beaten by a vote of yeas 100, nays 50, not voting 32, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. James C. Allen, William J. Allen, Alley, Ames, Ancona, Baily, Augustus C. Baldwin, John D. Baldwin, Blaine, Bliss, Boutwell, Brooks, Broomall, James S. Brown, William G. Brown, Chanler, Freeman Clarke, Coffroth, Cravens, Thomas T. Davis, Dawes, Dawson, Deming, Denison, Eden, Edgerton, Eldridge, Eliot, English, Fenton, Finck, Frank, Ganson, Gooch, Grider, Griswold, Hale, Harding, Harrington, Benjamin G. Harris, Herrick, Holman, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Hutchins, Philip Johnson, William Johnson, Kalbfleisch, Knapp, Law, Lazear, LeBlond, Mallory, Marcy, McDowell, McKinney, Middleton, Samuel F. Miller, William H. Miller, Daniel Morris, James R. Morris, Morrison, Amos Myers, Leonard Myers, Nelson, Noble, Odell, John O'Neill, Patterson, Pendleton, Perham, Perry, Pruyn, Radford, Samuel J. Randall, Alexander H. Rice, Robinson, Rogers, Edward H. Rollins, Scofield, Scott, John B. Steele, William G. Steele, Stevens, Stiles, Strouse, Stuart, Sweat, Thomas, Upson, Wadsworth, Ward, William B. Washburn, Webster, Whaley, Wheeler, Chilton A. White, Joseph W. White, Williams, and Winfield—100.

NAYS—Messrs. Arnold, Ashley, Baxter, Beaman, Blair, Blow, Boyd, Ambrose W. Clark, Cobb, Cole, Dixon, Donnelly, Driggs, Eckley, Farnsworth, Garfield, Higby, Asahel W. Hubbard, John H. Hubbard, Hulburd, Ingersoll, Julian, Kelley, Francis W. Kellogg, Knox, Loan, Longyear, Marvin, McClurg, Moorhead, Morrill, Norton, Charles O'Neill, Orth, Pike, Pomeroy, Price, John H. Rice, Ross, Schenck, Shannon, Sloan, Smithers, Thayer, Tracy, Van Valkenburgh, Elihu B. Washburne, Wilder, Wilson and Windom—50.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Allison, Anderson, Brandegee, Clay, Cox, Creswell, Henry Winter Davis, Dumont, Grinnell, Hall, Charles M. Harris, Jenckes, Kasson, Orlando Kellogg, Kernan, King, Littlejohn, Long, McAllister, McBride, McIndoe, William H. Randall, James S. Rollins, Smith, Spalding, Starr, Stebbins, Voorhees, Benjamin Wood, Fernando Wood, Woodbridge, and Yeaman—32.

The fifty congressmen who with Lincoln gambled their political futures (by risking the ill will of all

potential drafted men having \$300 with which they wished to buy exemption) were Republicans. The one hundred who voted to keep the \$300 exemption clause were Republicans joined by a minority of Democrats including George H. Pendleton of Ohio, close political ally of Vallandigham. The one hundred who thus voted counter to Lincoln's plan to put the draft on a new basis, eliminating class discrimination, included scores of politicians who had publicly and privately spoken in derision of Lincoln as lacking initiative and decision. Likewise among the thirty-two not voting were Republicans and Democrats who had repeatedly deprecated Lincoln's vacillation. It was to have been expected that the Wood brothers of New York, Ben and Fernando, would say neither yea nor nay, though their mouths and their newspaper had clamored that one of the main causes of the New York draft riots was the \$300 clause favoring the rich against the poor; the banners of the Manhattan mobs that waded into slaughter and arson had proclaimed nothing else so mightily as a slogan than that the \$300 exemption law was a crime against the poor.

Off and on then for days the House took up amendments—and amendments to amendments of the draft law. Thaddeus Stevens proposed a \$600 exemption clause, modified it and inserted in lieu thereof \$500, which was not adopted. Frank P. Blair of Missouri in a slightly modified form brought up the original proposition that no payment of money should release a drafted man from service—and it was beaten by about the same vote as at first. Nathaniel B. Smithers of Delaware brought up an intricate substitute bill which tinkered a little with the several features of drafting

and the House voted yeas 75, nays 77, not voting 30. The next day this action was reconsidered by a vote of yeas 83, nays 71, not voting 28. And the House adopted the Smithers bill by about the same vote. Frederick A. Pike of Maine moved to have the draft extend to persons between forty-five and fifty years of age the same as between the ages of twenty and forty-five which was defeated by yeas 47, nays 102, not voting 33, the latter including the Wood brothers again. Stevens in behalf of Pennsylvania Quakers moved the Smithers law should not apply to "those conscientiously opposed to bearing arms," Mallory of Ohio asking whether this could apply to peace Democrats. This Stevens amendment was passed by yeas 79, nays 64, not voting 39, again including the Wood brothers, Benjamin and Fernando.

Among minor matters arranged by the House for the bounty-paid soldier was a decree that when dying he might be permitted to make a last will and testament giving the bounty due him from the Government to a relative but not someone else than a relative. "We have no reason," said Stevens, "as long as the relatives of the soldier do not receive it, to give to a stranger the bounty designed personally for the soldier." The vote was decisive against drafting Indians; they would be permitted to volunteer. Also there were fears expressed that negroes would be put into depleted white regiments, thus bringing mutiny.

Congressmen plainly were afraid that the drastic action proposed by Stanton, concurred in by Lincoln, and advocated by Schenck, Frank P. Blair and others on the floor, would offend men of influence and property in their home districts, resulting possibly in upheavals

and violence. Mostly these fears were kept under, were left plainly implied. More often the congressmen spoke strongly a confidence that the war could be won by using the traditional approved American plan of volunteers modified by drafting, bounty payments, and substitutes for whoever wished to pay. Stevens summed it up June 27:

I do not think the time has come when it is absolutely necessary, arbitrarily, without recourse, to sweep our whole population into the Army as is done in the South. I believe that by voluntary action, if we are sufficiently liberal and wise, we can obtain sufficient money to raise an army and to supply all the deficiencies that may arise between this and a year hence. . . . I oppose, and shall continue to oppose, the repeal of the commutation clause; but I desire that a bill shall be passed that shall be so effective, so seductive if you please, as that within the shortest possible time a large army of five hundred thousand men can be raised.

In the Senate political instinct ran the same as in the House. The senators were decisively for bounties and substitutes. Also they were as hazy and groping as House members on the ways and means of getting soldiers. The ballots ran close, as in the House, and about a proportional number stayed away and didn't get into the record. The first Senate ballot on one section of the House conference bill ran yeas 16, nays 18, absent 15, while final adoption was by a vote of yeas 18, nays 17, absent 14. These ballots revealed a touch of bewilderment in the Senate as to what methods to use for raising troops. There was no bewilderment, however, on the question of substitutes and the rights of those who could raise the money to pay others for performing their military service.

McDougall of California moved to insert a proviso in the Senate bill. It was the Stanton-Lincoln item and

declared "substitutes shall not be allowed in place of persons subject to draft." Wilson of Massachusetts spoke against this proviso:

I do not agree to these ideas that have been put forth that the Government ought to cast a drag-net over the nation and say to every man, "Come out; serve the country; you shall have no bounty; you shall pay no commutation; you shall get no substitute." The country is not in any such distressed condition as to require it. We have got the business interests of the country to take care of as well as the military interests. We must get the money to carry on the war. . . . We have got to watch and nurse and take care of the agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical and commercial interests of the country.

McDougall urged that for three years they had been talking of triumph, victory and peace but it was not yet in sight; he didn't want the war to go ten years. The senators however killed McDougall's proviso (the Stanton-Lincoln item) by yeas 6, nays 35, absent 8, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Chandler, Doolittle, Grimes, McDougall, Ramsey and Wilkinson—6.

NAYS—Messrs. Brown, Buckalew, Carlile, Clark, Collamer, Conness, Cowan, Davis, Dixon, Foot, Foster, Harlan, Harris, Hendricks, Howard, Howe, Johnson, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morgan, Morrill, Nesmith, Pomeroy, Powell, Richardson, Riddle, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Wade, Willey, and Wilson—35.

ABSENT—Messrs. Anthony, Fessenden, Hale, Harding, Henderson, Hicks, Saulsbury, and Wright—8.

Wade, Wilson, Reverdy Johnson and other senators spoke fears of giving the President power to draft men for three years. The result might be a country ruled by a military despotism working through a horde of professional soldiers. A proposal of Chandler that the President be given authority to draft men for not less nor more than three years was beaten by 23 to 16.

Senator Morgan of New York brought up an amendment requiring that in draft calls thereafter the terms of service for the drafted men should be as the President directed but "not exceeding one year." This passed by 25 to 14. The conflict of feeling as to whether Lincoln should be made a complete dictator over conscription was brought out in the speeches of Sprague of Rhode Island and Wade of Ohio. Said Wade, "I do not know what the executive authorities would do if we gave them the whole power over [conscription]. . . . I am not willing to invest them with this discretion." Sprague said:

Until the Senate of the United States can resolve themselves into a Council of Ten, and be themselves the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President of the United States, they must delegate the execution of their decrees and of their laws to somebody, and that somebody must have their confidence, and if that officer has not their confidence it certainly is due from them to the people of this country that they should indicate that idea.

Schenck in the House and Sprague in the Senate had pointed out how clear it was that the President, Cabinet and War Department wanted the \$300 commutation clause absolutely repealed. This was done, in a way, by such a device that in the campaign of that year it could be said in speech and pamphlet and editorial that the commutation clause was absolutely repealed. And in place of the \$300 clause which was absolutely repealed, a House and Senate conference bill, the act of July 4, 1864, provided that the President had authority to call for volunteers for one, two or three years, the one year men to be paid \$100 bounty, the two year men \$200, the three year men \$300, each receiving the final one-third installment of his bounty on completion of service. Recruiting agents for volun-

teers were authorized to be sent into any state in rebellion, except Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. If any state did not within fifty days furnish its quota as called for by the President, the draft must be held to fill the quota with men to serve for one year, and such draft must be repeated until deficits of men were made up.

Thus on a clear-cut issue between Lincoln and Congress he was refused by overwhelming votes what he asked for in an essential point for carrying on the war. The refusal of Congress extended to Grant and Sherman who favored a policy of no money payments and no substitutes entangling and retarding the draft. Grant and Sherman stressed the point that money payments brought a poorer brand of soldiers. Both Schenck in the House and Sprague in the Senate urged that a better quality of fighting men and more efficient armies would be called into service with no cash payments and no drafted men buying others to take their places. Those who had directly operated the draft, Lincoln, Stanton and Provost Marshal General Fry, had found the machinery of it slowed down and bungled because the government endorsed the principle of money payments releasing men from service. Out of this experience Lincoln was speaking both as an executive in office and as a political candidate with his re-election at stake in four months. He was willing to take his chances on whatever disorder might result from the new principle in the draft. Out of the speeches on conscription spread across many pages of the *Congressional Globe* it was evident that more political fear was unspoken than found tongue regarding Lincoln's simple and decisive concurrence with the War Department in its request that it

should no longer be an agency and recording office for bounty collections and substitutes.

Thus senators and representatives acting in protection of the safety and convenience of constituents in their home districts refused Lincoln the essential points he wanted in a draft law. And in face of political unrest and a vast gloom savage with suspicion and re-crimination, Lincoln two weeks after the draft act was passed by Congress on July 4, 1864, proclaimed a call for a half-million volunteers. Again came the language now grown familiar. "Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do issue this my call for 500,000 volunteers for the military service." And with the unrelenting exactitude of legal forms the proclamation made it clear that inside of fifty days, or on the fifth day of September, 1864, "in every town, township, ward of a city, precinct or election district" where they had failed of their quota of troops, "a draft . . . shall be had." The call was for "volunteers." And "volunteers" not forthcoming, the new enrollment ordered by act of Congress would operate to recruit the strength of armies "required for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion and restoring the authority of the United States Government."

From Grant's headquarters Rawlins wrote to his wife that the President's call for 500,000 men was better late than never. He declared:

Had Congress given him the power to conscript, with the commuting clause left out, at the beginning of the last session, instead of at its close, and he had exercised it, the end of the war, so much hoped for, would have been reached in the campaign begun last May, but such was not the action of the Government and hence the unfinished work yet to be done.

THE ATTITUDE OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMIES TOWARD GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON¹

BY LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

White candles flickered or bravely threw their brightest glow over the hardwood floors of City Tavern. White covers gleamed on the dining-room tables. Philadelphia's greatest celebrities had gathered in her finest hostelry to do honor to General George Washington. He was on his way, with his staff, to inspect the fortifications around Philadelphia. The British were coming! In the swelter of a midsummer night in 1777, congressmen, merchants, generals, and their ladies nervously fanned their faces and mopped their brows, speculating, between mouthfuls, on what the British commanders intended and where they would strike the first blow.

Among the guests was the Marquis de Lafayette. That day Congress had made him a major general in the Continental Army. He wore the scarf of his office with all the dignity that his nineteen years and natural timidity would allow. After all, he was a marquis, fresh

¹ Quotations and other data in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the following books: on Lafayette, Dekalb, and Conway, Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette Joins the American Army* (Chicago, 1937); on Steuben, J. M. Palmer, *General Von Steuben* (New Haven, 1937); on Duportail, E. S. Kite, *Brigadier-General Louis Lebègue Duportail* (Baltimore, 1933); and on Armand, "Letters of Col. Armand (Marquis de la Rouerie) 1777-1791," *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1878* (New York, 1879), 287-396.

from the court at Versailles, rich enough to buy out any of the proud merchants who sat beside him, friend or relation of every important figure close to the King and the Queen of France. What if Congress had stipulated, when it had sent him his major general's commission, that he was to have no salary and no command? The salary he did not need, and the command—well, if he maneuvered correctly, the command would come later!

That was one of the reasons why he had come. It was not the only reason. For nearly two years he had been hearing good things about this General Washington, and for nearly a year his whole life had centered around an effort, which his family resisted, to join Washington's army. The General's defeat on Long Island had caused no greater discouragement, and his victory at Trenton no greater joy, in America than it had in the heart of the young French soldier in Versailles.

For Lafayette had recently been placed in reserve on part pay by a minister of war committed to retrenchment, and then had been promised the rank of major general by the American representative in Paris if he would join the Continental Army. To one who had been only a captain, who owed even that rank to his father-in-law's influence and to his ability to pay for commissions, who had never been under fire, and whose military experience consisted of parades and summer maneuvers, the rank of major general at nineteen seemed an exalted one indeed, even if it was in some backwoods army, across the vast ocean, and among rebels. At least it was the English that they had rebelled against—those English against whom all his most illustrious

ancestors had fought and against whom his father had died in battle. That was something. In fact, accompanied with the major general's rank, it was everything. The Americans' cause became his cause because their enemy was his enemy, and because active service as a major general even in a rebel army overseas was better, at the age of nineteen, than retirement as a captain of the world's finest. He would soon even be talking of "we republicans" and quoting (erroneously) the liberal writer Raynal. But that was not to be until he was well on his way to America or actually in America itself.

That Lafayette was not interested in Liberty, Humanity, or Republicanism before he undertook to come to America, that those ideals only gradually came to interest him and only as a result of his association with the American cause, I have tried to show in two monographs on the career of Lafayette until the moment (1779) of his return to France after his first voyage to America.² So far as I know, only two reviewers, both Frenchmen, have questioned that thesis. One of them, Professor Gilbert Chinard, maintains that the young Marquis had in him, even before he went to America, "potentialities and possibilities which did not exist in . . . many of his friends;" that his failure to mention the rights of man and his American patriotism in his letters to others "does not detract any significance from the famous letter to his wife written in mid-ocean in which he expressed unequivocally his faith that 'the welfare of America is intimately linked with the welfare of humanity;' " that Lafayette was "influenced to no small degree by the enthusiasm for America which

² Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette Comes to America* (Chicago, 1935) and *Lafayette Joins the American Army*.

had already begun to manifest itself in Paris'' by the end of 1776 and about which I had not given sufficient detail.³

All of those contentions are more or less true, but their truth does not weaken my thesis. I went to considerable pains to show that Lafayette had potentialities in him before 1777 that were to make him the outstanding liberal of his era, but I also insisted that they did not manifest themselves in a clear-cut liberalism before that date. The letter to his wife does indeed contain sentiments that can be regarded as exhibiting an interest in Liberty, Equality, and Humanity, but that letter was written only when he was well on his way to America and the leaven of American ideals had already begun to work. If I said little about the enthusiasm for America among the aristocracy of France at the close of 1776, it is because I found little to say. The enthusiasm for America became easily discernible in the circle in which Lafayette moved only in 1777; and it was itself in no small part a result of Lafayette's adventures.

Two of Lafayette's close associates in Paris inform us of that. The Comte de Ségur was one of them. His circle was not so interested in politics, Ségur says, as they were in games, dances, and plays. "Politics dared not intrude except in laughter and dared not reveal itself except in the form of a joke."⁴ Only after Lafayette's exploits in America had been applauded in France, Ségur declares, did public opinion turn more and more toward war. And Comte Alexandre de Lameth has left us an even more striking declaration to the effect that

³ *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. VIII, no. 2 (June, 1936), 219-20.

⁴ Comte de Ségur, *Mémoires ou Souvenirs et Anecdotes* (Paris, 1825-1829), I: 42.

it was the impact of liberal ideas in America upon the military class of France that led to their general propagation in France. He wrote:

The young soldiers sent to America under the orders of Rochambeau, were profoundly affected by the ideas favorable to an order of things based on the principles of liberty. The generous reflections they brought back were easily communicated to their compatriots, and began a general development of public opinion.⁵

A somewhat similar impression is conveyed by a companion of both Lafayette and Lameth in America, Comte Mathieu Dumas.⁶

Ségur, Lameth, and Dumas were among the most literate of the French nobility of their day. If they had to wait until after 1776 to feel "profoundly affected by ideas favorable to an order of things based on the principles of liberty," it is probable that Lafayette was not influenced by them much earlier. If it be objected that Ségur's, Lameth's, and Dumas' testimony comes only from memoirs written at a date far removed from 1776, and that they may be exaggerating their political innocence before that date, their accounts can be confirmed from contemporary sources. The Comtesse de Hunolstein was another friend of Lafayette, though not yet as intimate as she was later to become. Her correspondence has recently become available. It contains much social gossip and even some references to politics, but gives no hint of awareness that the world is soon going to be torn asunder by a conflict of ideals.⁷

The conclusion is obvious. It was only *after* 1777, and not *before*, that enthusiasm for America developed

⁵ *Histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante* (Paris, 1828), I: lxxv.

⁶ *Memoirs of His Own Time* (Philadelphia, 1839), I: 61-62.

⁷ The letters of the Comtesse de Hunolstein to Ivan Ivanovitch Shuvalov are in the collection of Stuart W. Jackson of Montclair, N. J. and are to be edited in the writer's forthcoming biography of the Comtesse de Hunolstein.

in the French aristocracy to any appreciable degree. We must remember the advice of Minister Turgot—himself an outstanding liberal writer of the day—to King Louis XVI in April, 1776: "I believe that the most desirable outcome [of the rebellion in America] for the interest of both crowns would be that England overcome the resistance of her colonies."⁸ It was the venerable Franklin who was chiefly responsible for making America a fad in Paris, and Franklin arrived only after Lafayette had completed his plans.

Yet we may readily agree with Professor Chinard that what little enthusiasm for American ideals there was in the air of France before Lafayette's departure had its full effect on the impressionable young man. In general, Professor Chinard and I seem to be in accord. Lafayette had potentialities for liberalism that marked him from his fellows; the American adventure, though not undertaken for liberal ideas, helped to develop those potentialities.

The other French critic of my thesis is Professor Georges Lefebvre. It is his contention that, since Lafayette described himself as a republican and declared his love for liberty only six days after his arrival in America, the liberal climate of France could not have been altogether strange to him. "Is it likely," asks Professor Lefebvre, "that six days would have been enough for America to teach him that language?"⁹ Lefebvre goes on to point out that Lafayette alluded to Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies* after he had been in America only three months.

⁸ "Mémoire sur la manière dont la France et l'Espagne devoient envisager les suites de la querelle entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies" in *Oeuvres de Turgot*, edited by Eugène Daire and Hyppolyte Dussard (Paris, 1844), II: 581.

⁹ *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* (1938), XV: 374-75.

Could he have discovered Raynal's work among the Moravian Brethren in the little Pennsylvanian village of Bethlehem, where he then was? Isn't it logical to believe that he had brought his liberal language and literary knowledge with him from France?

The answer to all those questions is contained in that to the one about Raynal. Can it be shown that Lafayette had read Raynal or any other liberal writings of his day before he left Paris? There is no positive evidence that he did. In fact, what evidence there is indicates that the young people of his circle did not waste much time in reading—that when they did, they had to be apologetic. The testimony of Ségur, already cited, shows that. Furthermore, Madame de Hunolstein was greatly worried about her brother because he tended to be serious-minded. The brother, General Puget-Barbantane, has himself left us a vivid picture of the indifference among his companions to “philosophy” and of his near ostracism because he thought Voltaire and Rousseau important. He felt, he confessed, “like a plant growing upon foreign soil. I was considered an extraordinary man because I did not think like the others in that world apart.”¹⁰

But many of Lafayette's friends considered him queer likewise. Could it be that he too read Voltaire, Rousseau, and Raynal, and, afraid to appear too *raisonnable*, as they called it, hid his bad habits from them? If that were so, why should there be only one mention of Raynal after he reached America and his tongue was no longer tied? Which is the more logical to suppose: that a young man who had struggled through any large part of Raynal's many-tomed history would mention it only

¹⁰ *Mémoires du Lieutenant-Général Puget-Barbantane* (Paris, 1827), 5.

once in the several years which followed (that once being an erroneous citation about an obscure passage in the book); or that he had never read the work but received the mistaken impression that Raynal had mentioned the Moravian Brethrens' settlement in Bethlehem only after he reached Bethlehem?

The possibility that he read the book at Bethlehem need not be considered. We have some information regarding what he did read there. Some French books were among them. If one of them had been Raynal's masterpiece, it is possible that it would have been particularly mentioned, but what is more important, Lafayette, with the book fresh in mind and easily at hand to consult again, would not have made the error of thinking it was the Moravian Brethren that Raynal described when it was in fact a sect the none too accurate author called the Dumplers. The most probable explanation would seem to be that Lafayette's knowledge of Raynal was derived at second hand somehow, in Bethlehem. That is easier to believe than that a lad of eighteen, having read any large part of the thousands of pages in Raynal, should months later be able to recall, if only erroneously, that the book dealt with an obscure sect in Pennsylvania, and then never refer to the author again.

There is another somewhat less plausible but possible explanation. No one has ever contended that Lafayette learned to speak the language of liberty within six days after his arrival in the United States. What is maintained is that he became interested in liberal ideas only after becoming interested in the American cause; that those ideals were a consequent and not an antecedent of his departure for America; and that they de-

veloped only very slowly after his acquaintance with America began. There is nothing inconsistent with that thesis and the possibility that some time after he began to be interested in going to America (somewhere around the fall of 1776) Lafayette read the pages in Raynal relating to the United States. If that were true, then, because he realized that he would some day be in Pennsylvania, the passage about the Dumplers would have made more than a fleeting impression on him. Months later he might easily have recalled it erroneously as applying to the Moravian Brethren, among whom he was then a guest.

That is a plausible explanation, but if it is right, then Lafayette's interest in Raynal and similar authors arose out of his interest in America and not the reverse—which is the very point Professor Lefebvre is reluctant to grant. Yet only if one is willing to reject both the possibility that Lafayette read Raynal in France, though only after becoming interested in America, and the probability that he learned of that passage about the Dumplers second hand while at Bethlehem is one free to argue that his interest in America was derived from the intellectual atmosphere of France in 1776-1777. And to argue that way would necessitate explaining why there is only one reference—and that a mistaken one—to any French writer in all of Lafayette's letters up to 1779 (and beyond, for that matter), and why Lafayette's friends were not equally infected by that intellectual atmosphere, though equally exposed to it.¹¹

¹¹ Professor Lefebvre goes on to say (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, XV: 375) that he doubts my contention that Lafayette, who was in 1777-1779 more a patriot than a friend of humanity, was some day to become more a friend of humanity than a patriot. That day nevertheless was to come—not during the French Revolution, as M. Lefebvre thinks I mean, but during the years of Napoleon and the Restoration. He was never to be willing to sacrifice his country for the welfare of humanity. It

The youthful Marquis de Lafayette, who sat among Philadelphia's celebrities in City Tavern and gazed for the first time on General Washington, was not yet a full-fledged devotee of liberty. His devotion existed, but it was new and feeble. Cynicism on the part of older devotees or the indifference of superiors to the young man's other, more steadfast motives might have blighted that devotion forever. But he saw no cynicism or indifference as he looked at Washington. He was impressed instead by "the majesty of his face and figure" which easily set the commander in chief off from all others—soldiers or civilians—in the room. And behind that stern majesty Lafayette soon discovered there was kindness. For before the evening's festivities ended, Washington invited the new major general to be his guest at headquarters, apologizing for the small comfort that a republican army could offer to a young nobleman.

Out of that meeting in a Philadelphia tavern grew a warm and abiding friendship. It was more carefully nurtured by the young man than by the older one, for he was ambitious and he knew that no one could help him to win the glory he coveted so easily as Washington. But the tactfulness with which Washington treated the Marquis' importunity, the understanding he showed

would be foolish to contend that he would be. All I did contend was that some day the ideals of liberty and equality would appeal to him as of greater significance than the glory of France. During the French Revolution it was possible to identify both, but during the later period they were far from identical. If Professor Lefebvre had quoted my sentence in full instead of leaving out the definitive part, my meaning would have been clear. The sentence reads (*Lafayette Joins the American Army*, 180): "The day was to come when Lafayette would be a lover of humanity rather than a patriot, when unconditionally he was to plead for liberty and equality rather than for glory; but that day had not yet dawned."

Professor Lefebvre also contends (*Annales Historiques de la Revolution Française*, XV: 374-75) that what I considered an unbecoming anxiety in Lafayette to be in everyone's good graces was merely good tact. That, of course, is a matter of definition of terms. Moreover, the two conceptions are not very wide apart.

when the young nobleman's sensitive nature was ruffled, the consideration he gave to an inexperienced enthusiast's opinions and self-esteem, the solicitude he exhibited when the novice general was wounded, slowly made the association which had begun with a desire to exploit one another's usefulness into a genuine mutual affection.

Lafayette was not dumb in his gratitude. He wrote to his father-in-law about Washington's "tender friendship and entire confidence in me upon all military matters great and small which concerned him." He constantly referred to Washington in his letters as a friend and father. "Every day my admiration for the beauty of his character and his soul grows greater . . . His name will be revered in all ages by every lover of liberty and of mankind." Soon Lafayette would place his own glory at no higher level than Washington's honor and would be willing to sacrifice the one for the other. Before long he would try to act only in a manner that he thought would win Washington's approval.

In the course of time that manner would become second nature. When that happened Lafayette would really be a friend of Humanity who put greater store by the principles of Liberty and Equality than by his own personal glory. No one would then raise the question whether the language of liberty that he spoke was mere lip service. When Europe would be dominated by a St. Petersburg-to-Berlin-and-Vienna axis that in this country was confused with the Holy Alliance, when potential constitutional government would be suppressed in Spain, Italy, Germany, and Poland by the powerful states that feared constitutions; when small nations like Greece, the South American republics, and Belgium

were to struggle with some success to secure their independence from their oppressors; when the young United States (then as now) were to be the only nation in the world in which republican-democracy seemed likely to succeed, a whole generation of liberals learned to look to Lafayette for leadership.

The triumphal tour of the "adopted son of Washington" in 1824-1825 in the United States was as great an event in Europe as it was in this country. It was an act of defiance to those who believed Lafayette a menace. It was followed in 1829 by almost as triumphant a tour of France, which played no small part in creating the spirit of 1830 and the overthrow of the Bourbons. It was about that time that the cynical Prince Talleyrand said of Lafayette: "He always acts as though he follows the advice of someone else." That advice, that lesson in the leadership of lost causes, had its beginnings in a "great conversation" (the phrase is Lafayette's own) somewhere in the Delaware Valley in the summer of 1777. There, as a fatherless, sensitive lad of nineteen, Lafayette was first told by Washington that he might look upon his kindly commander as "father and friend." It was a lesson he never forgot.

Washington did not know that those who had sent Lafayette, or allowed him to come, to America from France, had intended to subordinate Washington to a French nobleman and soldier, the Comte de Broglie. And it appears that Lafayette did not realize it either. Incredible as it may seem, though Lafayette had entered the American service chiefly through the aid of Broglie and Broglie's henchmen, and had come to America on a boat that was filled with fellow-soldiers pledged to support Broglie's scheme, there is no evidence that he

knew anything about their conspiracy. Certainly he acted in such a way as to make it clear that he did not know. For those who had fooled older and wiser men than he it was no hard task to beguile a naïve aspirant of nineteen.

Yet two of Lafayette's companions on that boat were among the leading figures in the plan to bring Broglie to America as commander in chief. They were the Vicomte de Mauroy and the so-called "Baron Jean Dekalb," who before becoming a French soldier, had been a Bavarian peasant named Johann Kalb. Fortunately the Continental Congress learned, before they arrived, that Broglie would be willing to accept the post of commander in chief in the American army, and had good reason to suspect the close association of Dekalb and Mauroy with Broglie. That association, their unwillingness to serve without pay, and the fact that their position at the French court was not as imposing as Lafayette's led Congress to dismiss them, with some compensation for their expenses, though it accepted Lafayette as a volunteer. Mauroy was vehement in his denunciation of the Continental Congress, the Continental Army, Washington, and everything American thereafter. Dekalb was more tactful, and soon Congress, without consulting Washington, offered him the rank of major general with pay.

Dekalb never learned to like the ways of the land for which he was destined to give his life. His letters complain of high prices, unnecessary discomfort, ill-trained troops, incompetent officers, and political interference. But it did not take him long to discover that any effort to place Broglie at the head of the American army would be regarded "as a crying injustice against Wash-

ington and an attempt against the country." Nevertheless, he did not give it up immediately, and it was some time before he was willing to admit that the confidence of large sections of the army in the commander-in-chief was not altogether ill-founded. In one of his early letters to Broglie, Dekalb said of Washington:

He is a most kindly, most obliging, and most liberal man, but as a general he is too slow, even lazy, much too weak, and not without his dose of vanity and presumption. My opinion is that if he does anything sensational he will owe it more to his good luck or to his adversary's mistakes than to his own ability. I will even say that he does not know how to profit from the clumsiest errors of his enemies. He has not yet been able to get rid of his old prejudice against the French. So I think that before long there will be none of our officers in their service.

When Valley Forge was adopted as winter quarters, against Dekalb's advice, he wrote again to Broglie. After two months in the army, his opinion had not greatly changed. He said:

It is too bad that such obedient soldiers and of such excellent sort should be so little looked after and so badly led. Everything here is fit to produce disgust. The slightest sign from you would make me return home. Unless you see, *mon général*, how I may be of some use to the King's service or to the arrangement of my plans, which you know, I beg you to recall me as soon as possible.

By that time, however, Dekalb had begun to realize what obstacles Washington had to overcome. He added:

It is unfortunate that Washington is so easily led. He is the bravest and truest of men, has the best intentions, and a sound judgment. I am convinced that he would accomplish substantial results, if he would only act more upon his own responsibility; but it is a pity that he is so weak, and has the worst of advisers in the men who enjoy his confidence. If they are not traitors, they are certainly gross ignoramuses.

Soon, however, the lengths to which Washington's

enemies were willing to go was brought home to Dekalb. He learned that, unknown to him, he had been designated as the most dissatisfied French officer in the service by General Thomas Conway, who had just begun the political maneuvers with General Horatio Gates that became notorious as the "Conway Cabal." Dekalb denied the truth of that allegation. In none too good English, he declared to the President of Congress that Washington would "rather suffer in the opinion of the world than hurt this country, in making appear how far he is from having so considerable an army as all Europe and great part of America believe he has." Washington, he maintained, "does more every day than could be expected from any general in the world in the same circumstances." He was the only person qualified to keep up the spirit of the army and the people, "nobody actually being or serving in America excepted." (Could the implication have been that there was someone in Europe, however, who was better qualified?) And Dekalb went on to praise Washington's "natural and acquired capacity, his bravery, good sense, uprightness and honesty."

The warmth of that endorsement lay in the fact that Dekalb was in an awkward position, and one of the best ways to crawl out of it was by praise of Washington. The praise did not continue for long. As Dekalb saw other French officers returning home when they learned that war had been declared between their country and England, he begged to be recalled too. Nearly every letter he wrote to Broglie shows his anxiety to go back to France. He began to look upon his American mission as a failure. Regardless of all that the Americans owed to France, he maintained, they

still hated the French and remained English at heart. Moreover they were "insultingly vain." On November 7, 1778, Dekalb gibed in a letter to Broglie:

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Their General Washington is the first of all heroes ancient and modern; Alexander, Condé, Broglie, Ferdinand, and the King of Prussia are not to be compared to him. Even Marlborough must give way to him. If they were sure of always having Generals like him, they would soon lay down the law to the universe. It is not only the lower classes; clever people, or those passing for such, have the same opinion, and this is said so often, that Washington believes it himself. I do not wish to deny his merit nor many good qualities which he possesses, but he is a poor general; his reputation is due to good fortune, to the misconduct, to the blindness of his adversaries, and especially to Providence.¹²

The order for recall never reached Dekalb. Obligated to stay, he acquired a certain sense of loyalty to America and his American chief. His continued hostility toward Conway was a guarantee of that. What irony that he should meet his death from eleven wounds received while trying to cover the retreating troops of the precipitate General Horatio Gates, for whom Conway had caballed! How fitting that in 1825 the "adopted son of Washington," on his triumphal procession through the United States, should lay the cornerstone of the monument that marks Dekalb's grave! At least, before he died, the "baron" had the satisfaction of knowing that Conway, who had claimed to be his senior in the French service and had resented his superior rank in the Continental Army, had been obliged to return to France without a certificate of honorable dismissal.

The melancholy story of Thomas Conway, the Kerry County Irishman who became a French count and a

¹² B. F. Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1895), XXIII: no. 1987.

brevet-colonel and rose to the rank of major general in the Continental Army, is a familiar one. From the moment he entered the American service as a brigadier general, he showed disrespect to Washington. When he had been in the Continental Army two months, some Frenchmen who had been disappointed in securing high rank from Congress discovered that Frenchmen were unpopular in the United States because they either proved to be bad officers, or, when competent, aroused jealousy among the Americans. Conway, they were told, was "detested by the officers of his brigade and envied by all the generals, even by Varsington [*sic*] because he makes his brigade work and instead of leaving it idle in camp, drills and instructs it himself." Since some of those Frenchmen knew Conway, it would not be hard to guess the ultimate source of that report, for Conway, as Washington said of him, could "leave no service of his untold."

When General Gates gathered the laurels that others had earned at Saratoga, Conway wrote him a letter expressing the hope that he might serve under the victor of Saratoga and condemning the army's "actual chiefs and actual discipline." Washington, through the indiscretion of Gates's drunken aide, received a garbled report of what Conway had said. Good taste demanded that he inform Conway what he had been told. Conway admitted that he had made some sharp comments but, instead of apologizing, railed against his enemies. Washington did not deign to reply. Conway soon sent the Commander in chief his resignation. Washington, stating that he had no authority to accept it, informed him through his secretary that he would have to go to Congress. Congress, on the recommendation of a Board

of War controlled by Washington-haters, made Conway inspector-general with the rank of major general.

It was Lafayette who maneuvered the Board of War into an awkward position. He obliged Congress to appoint him and Dekalb as Conway's superiors in the invasion of Canada that was then proposed. When that expedition failed, he placed the blame for the failure squarely upon the board. Conway, ordered to a still more humiliating position after the Canadian expedition was abandoned, sent another impertinent letter to Washington and once more offered his resignation. This time, much to his surprise, Congress accepted it. Conway went to York to secure from Congress at least a certificate of honorable discharge. For insulting remarks about American officers, one of them challenged him to a duel and shot him through the mouth. When he thought he was going to die, he at last wrote Washington an apology. He assured his former commander of his "sincere grief for having done, written, or said anything disagreeable for your Excellency." But he did not die, and Lafayette reluctantly aided his efforts to secure an honorable discharge. But to no avail. He left for Europe without it, "unwept, unhonor'd, and unsung."

Conway's place as inspector-general of the Continental Army was taken by Baron von Steuben. Steuben, unlike Dekalb, seems to have been a real baron, but, like Dekalb, though a German by birth, came to America from France with the connivance of French officials. Like Dekalb and all the others whom we have considered, he was at first a soldier of fortune, somewhat interested in the American cause but primarily in adventure and glory. He had never risen higher than the

rank of captain in the Prussian service and had been dropped from the army of Frederick the Great fourteen years before he came to America. Yet, either because they were themselves taken in or because they recognized Steuben's military knowledge and feared that he might be overlooked by Congress if not sufficiently puffed up, Franklin and his colleague, Silas Deane, recommended him to Washington and others as "Lieut. General in the king of Prussia's Service." Arrived in this country, Steuben immediately wrote letters to Congress and Washington that showed becoming tact and a genuine understanding of his delicate position. His letter to Washington declared:

If the distinguished ranks in which I have Served in Europe should be an Obstacle, I had rather serve under your Excellency as a Volunteer, than to be a subject of Discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves amongst you.

Washington received that letter shortly after one of Conway's impertinences, in which Conway, meaning to be blighting, had compared "the *great Frederick* in Europe and the *great Washington* in this continent." "And now behold the *alter ego* of the 'great Frederick' was actually coming to be the aide of the 'great Washington.'"¹³

Somewhat later Steuben gently reminded Congress again of his modest ambitions:

If His Excellency thinks that I may be more useful to you as a Volunteer than as a Commissioned General, I shall willingly Submit to his Desire. I have but one only Aim, from which nothing shall ever make me Sway. And this is to be useful to the *United States*, and to participate of the Glory of your Armies. My only Ambition is to reap Laurels in your Fields, no matter in what rank. So you need never fear my teasing you with indiscreet requests.

¹³ Palmer, *General Von Steuben*, 134.

The Glory of America will be Mine, and your Liberty Shall make my Happiness. Besides, I am extremely flattered with the Distinctions your Worthy Commander in Chief Shows me on every Occasion. My chief study Shall always be to deserve them more and more.

Steuben thus tactfully won the confidence of both Washington and Congress; and when Conway's resignation as inspector-general was accepted, Washington hastened to recommend Steuben for that post. How well the Baron succeeded in making a trained army out of what had hitherto been disciplined but undrilled bands is testified by several competent observers.

Yet Steuben was himself to be the cause of annoyance to Washington. The post of inspector-general gave Steuben no troops to command, and he soon sought a division. Washington was reluctant to grant his request because he feared it could not be done "without wounding the feelings of a number of officers whose rank and merits give them every claim to attention." He recognized Steuben as "a brave, indefatigable, judicious and experienced officer" whose fellow officers had "a high sense of his military worth." Nevertheless Steuben's demands put him in an embarrassing position.

[He] became vehement about the promotion of men who have nothing more than a little plausibility, unbounded pride and ambition, and a perseverance and application not to be resisted but by uncommon firmness, to support their pretention; men, who, in the first instance, tell you they wish for nothing more than the honor of serving so glorious a cause as volunteers, the next day solicit rank without pay, the day following want money advanced to them, and in the course of the week want further promotions, and are not satisfied with any thing you can do for them.¹⁴

¹⁴ Gottschalk, *Lafayette Joins the American Army*, 235-36.

As he expressed himself thus, Washington had Dekalb, Conway, and other foreign officers in mind, but particularly Baron von Steuben. For he went on to say:

Although I think the Baron an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish that we had not a single foreigner among us, except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest.¹⁵

Steuben, despite his high talk, having no affluent position in Europe to which to return, yielded when Congress made him no concessions.

It was not until 1780 that Steuben was placed in command of a division. Here too he distinguished himself—particularly, along with Generals Lincoln and Lafayette, at Yorktown, where his troops occupied the trenches when the British flag was struck. Just before resigning his commission to Congress, Washington wrote to Steuben a farewell note which he described as “the last letter I shall ever write while I continue in the Service of my Country” (December 23, 1783). It read in part:

Altho' I have taken frequent Opportunities both in public and in private, of Acknowledging your great Zeal, Attention, and Abilities in performing the duties of your Office; yet, I wish, to make use of this last Moment of my public Life, to Signify in the strongest terms, my intire Approbation of your Conduct, and to express my Sense of the Obligations the public is under to you for your faithful and Meritorious Services.

I beg you will be convinced, my dear Sir, that I shall rejoice, if it could ever be in my power, to serve you more essentially, than by expressions of regard and Affection—but in the meantime, I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my Sincere Friendship and Esteem for you.¹⁶

¹⁵ Gottschalk, *Lafayette Joins the American Army*, 236.

¹⁶ Palmer, *General Von Steuben*, 315.

"No soldier in all history ever received a nobler recognition of faithful and meritorious service," says Steuben's scrupulous biographer, General John McAuley Palmer.

In the councils of war at Washington's quarters, whenever Lafayette and Steuben were in agreement, there was likely to be a third name attached to theirs—that of General Louis Lebègue Duportail, commandant of engineers. Like Lafayette and Dakalb he had come to the United States (along with three other royal engineers) with the connivance of the French ministry, though he had good reason to be more aware than they that his government approved his enterprise. Since Congress readily admitted the need for engineers, Duportail was made colonel and chief of engineers immediately, and within a few months became brigadier general. It was in that capacity that he participated with Lafayette and Steuben in Washington's council. Lafayette called him "one of the best and most honest officers upon this continent."¹⁷

Duportail was, nevertheless, not enthusiastic regarding the state of public opinion that he found in the United States. At the beginning of the Conway Cabal he was one of the several foreign officers who were dissatisfied. He wrote to the French minister St. Germain on November 12, 1777:

Before the war the American people, without living in luxury, enjoyed every necessity that renders life agreeable and happy. They spent a large part of their time in smoking and drinking tea, or spirituous liquors. . . . It is not surprising therefore that the sudden change from an effeminate life to that of a warrior, which is hard and painful, made them prefer the yoke of the English to a liberty bought at the expense of life's amenities. What I say can only sur-

¹⁷ Gottschalk, *Lafayette Joins the American Army*, 99.

prise you, Sir, but such are these people, who, being soft, without energy, without vigor, without passion for the cause in which they have engaged, keep it up only because they do not resist the impulse which they originally received. There is a hundred times more enthusiasm for this revolution in any cafe in Paris than there is in all the United States together.¹⁸

Yet Duportail did not attribute any of the blame for that lamentable apathy to Washington. Indeed, when the Cabal became known at Valley Forge, he was one of the first foreign officers to assure Lafayette of his loyalty to the chief. On the other hand, Colonel Tadeusz Kosciuzko, who was the next ranking officer of engineers, was known to be friendly to Gates and Conway. Perhaps that explains why Kosciuzko received no promotions throughout the war and was granted the brevet of brigadier general only when he returned to Poland, while Duportail rose to the rank of major general.

In his early associations with Duportail, Washington perceived in him "a man of sound judgment and real knowledge in military service in general." On several occasions he expressed a high opinion of the engineer's "ability and merit." Duportail was not ungrateful, and he more than once wrote to express his appreciation of the Commander in chief's confidence. "It is the greatest reward which I could possibly receive" he said "for my efforts in serving the United States My place, my veneration, my devotion to your person, binds me to the army which you command." When Duportail was taken prisoner along with the army that capitulated at Charleston, Congress and Washington were particularly active in obtaining his

¹⁸ C. Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (Dublin, 1794), 433n.

exchange. Duportail returned immediately to active duty, and it was he who carried to Admiral de Grasse the request of Washington and Rochambeau which resulted in De Grasse's decision not to insist upon immediate attack upon Yorktown but to wait for the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau. Of all the foreign generals who took part in the capture of Yorktown, Duportail had the longest period of continuous service in the Continental Army to his credit, having taken part in all five campaigns since 1777.

What made Duportail even more distinguished—in fact, almost unique—among foreign generals was that, after having solicited and received the rank of brigadier general, he had not for four years requested another promotion. That record was too good to last, however, and shortly after the Battle of Yorktown he begged for the rank of major general. His reason for doing so was that since he now intended to go back to France, it was important to him to have that grade because a major-generalship in the American army would alone assure him of the rank of brigadier in France. Washington was once more obliged to point out that, despite the applicant's "real talents and distinguished services," to grant his request would be an "infringement of the right of seniority of so many individuals and the pretensions of some who have particular claims upon this country," that it could be done "only at the expense of the tranquillity of the Army."

Nevertheless Duportail insisted. Finally Washington consented to recommend him warmly to Congress. He wrote on October 31, 1781:

His judgment in council, and well conducted valor in the field claim the highest applause, and have secured for him the esteem and

confidence of the army. His plan and conduct of the late attacks in the late important and successful siege of York where he commanded the corps of engineers, afford brilliant proofs of his military genius, and set the seal of his reputation; while they entitle him to my warmest thanks.

In a private letter to the President of Congress Washington urged the promotion of Duportail.

The request was granted. Duportail returned to France as a major general and came back in about a year. But before he could rejoin Washington, the signing of preliminaries of peace became known in America and Duportail prepared to return home once more. He hastened, however, to assure Washington of his devotion to the United States:

My attraction to America and in particular to your excellency will not finish with the war but only with my life and i will think myself very happy and much honored if i can be of some utility to a country that is in my heart next to the country to which i owe my birth.

Washington replied that he was sorry that Duportail felt he must leave:

The personal attraction which naturally grows out of such a lengthy service together, had I no other motive, would occasion a regret at parting. But it is considerably heightened by your quitting the service and thereby depriving me of the hope of seeing you return to benefit the country by your ability and your experience in your profession . . . It would afford me much pleasure to tell you this personally before your departure, but if I should not have this satisfaction, I beg you to be assured that you carry with you every good wish I can form for you, also that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the aids I have derived from your knowledge & advice and more especially for the repeated testimonials I have recd. of your friendship and attachment for me.

So Duportail departed. Shortly after he arrived in France he wrote to Washington:

Everybody here, Dear General, asks me if you intend to come over. I give them little hope after what you told me. Your excellency may be certain that you would be received with great pleasure but no body could have a greater satisfaction to see you than myself. You may be an object of admiration from those who are at a distance and who know only your military and political life but for those who are so happy as to be particularly acquainted with your excellency's private character you are equally an object of veneration and attachment.

Duportail went on to say that if he did not see Washington in France, he hoped to see him in America, "for I am far from renouncing that country forever."

And he did return to America. With Lafayette's aid he became minister of war in France for a while during the French Revolution. Both men were soon forced to emigrate from France. Lafayette tried unsuccessfully to go to America, but Duportail succeeded in doing so. Washington, anxious not to appear to take sides in the French struggle, avoided all émigrés except Lafayette's son. Though Duportail remained in America until Washington's death and beyond, he never saw his old commander again.

Except for Mauroy, whose contract with Silas Deane was never confirmed by Congress, and Du Coudray, who, to everyone's undisguised relief, was drowned shortly after he began active service, Lafayette, Dekalb, Conway, Steuben, and Duportail were the only foreigners to attain the rank of major general in the Continental Army.¹⁹ Each of these seven major generals entertained an opinion regarding Washington that may be considered as representative of a school. Little is known of Du Coudray's position, but since he was arrogant in nearly every other respect, it is probable that he

¹⁹ This of course excludes Charles Lee and Horatio Gates who, though born in Europe, had lived in the colonies before the Revolution.

would have assumed a condescending air toward Washington too. Mauroy typifies the disgruntled foreign soldiers who sought and failed to secure high offices in this country and returned to spread their dissatisfaction at home. How dangerous that group was to the American cause in France may be gathered from Washington's anxiety to keep Lafayette from being sent home displeased and adding his censure to theirs. Lafayette himself believed that one of the greatest services he performed for the United States was in counteracting their reproaches by his letters from America. Dekalb is typical of those officers who, sent to America by their superiors, never really became devoted to Washington but granted him valiant and loyal service. Conway represents those who, though likewise acting under the orders of their superiors in France, failed to develop a sense of loyalty to the American Commander in chief, and eventually returned home disgruntled. Only Lafayette, Steuben, and Duportail became personally devoted to Washington—Steuben to a lesser degree than Duportail, and neither so completely that his entire future life was colored by his devotion as was Lafayette's. It is not surprising that, of the four of these seven who returned to Europe, Lafayette and Duportail should have been associated with the liberal movement in France, while Conway and Mauroy (whose brother was the Abbé Maury, leader of the clerical conservatives) appear to have been on the side opposed to reform. Those who in this country had learned to love Washington became the defenders of liberty in their own country.

That was true even of Colonel Armand, the Marquis de la Rouërie, even if at first glance the contrary would

seem to be true. Unless it was Lafayette, no man was more consistently devoted to Washington than he. His letters are constant reminders of his veneration and respect for his chief. "Your Excellency," he said, on February 4, 1781, "is the only friend I have found in this country." On another occasion (April 7, 1782), he wrote: "At whatsoever time I may be called upon, my fortune, time and life will be devoted to you." On still another (December 1, 1782), he declared: "Your esteem . . . is the thing in the world I am most anxious to preserve."

Those expressions might perhaps be discounted by a cynical recorder because they are accompanied by requests for promotion to a brigadier general's rank. But similar ones are to be found even after that promotion was secured, and, indeed, after the Marquis had returned to France and could no longer expect favors from the recipient of his letters. If anything, the assurances of attachment and respect increase with time and distance. Washington in his turn expressed his friendship and esteem for Armand de la Rouërie.

The Marquis de la Rouërie had been among the few European officers in America to declare an "attachment . . . to the form of a republican government." Shortly after his return to France he was thrown into the Bastille, along with several other Breton nobles, for defiance of the King. Yet he became one of the earliest leaders of the royalists who rose in rebellion on behalf of the French monarchy when at last it was threatened. He was at first not opposed to the principles of 1789. As letters written to Washington in June of that year reveal, he thought of the nobility of France as lacking in statesmanlike qualities, of the clergy as in-

different to "moderation, decency, and fraternity," and of the King and his ministers as unable "to avoid anarchy or perhaps *much worse*." For his own part, he added:

Forced by my conscience, patriotism and situation to act on occasion, I have maintained myself without any effort a friend of all partys, and have often at my tables and at the same time, men of the three orders, and, as my wine is not bad, as my doings are inoffensive, my past & present conduct obliging and amical towards my vassals, and my countenance gay and friendly, my neighborhood is perhaps the corner of this small part of France where ancient affection, regard & moderation will suffer no alteration.

A half-year later, however, his tone changed. It was raised in bitter reproach of "our constitution makers" who "dispute, slander, fight, and kick each other unmercifully." He denounced their laws in favor of "disorder, crimes, & anarchy throughout the empire." After another half-year had passed, Armand was in frank opposition to the Revolution—but always, he convinced himself and tried to convince Washington, as a friend of liberty. "Those that might reach me," he wrote, "know well that a true friend to liberty cannot be a friend to anarchy, and may well resist persecution." To the very end of his days—which was very near now—he believed he was fighting the cause of true liberty against avarice. His last letter to Washington (March 22, 1791) gives eloquent testimony to his faith:

Our political affairs in this part of the world are in the most deplorable situation—loyalté, good sense, firmness, seems to be banished from our unhappy, and perhaps, more guilty, country; the compassion of God almighty is the only resource which remains to us; But I am sure he is Just, and of course I fear his mercy will be only felt long after his severity.

May France, by her present condition, be now and in all future times a tremendous instance for all people on earth, of the great

risk & destruction which threaten nations, when, without any regard to their moral & physical circumstances, instead of wisely & slowly reforming abuses and repairing breaches made to their constitution, they confide the over setting of the whole into the hands and at the discretion of ambition, avarice, ignorance, caprices, and of all the private interests which follow of course,—may your [country], dear General, follow, while this world will last, the impulsion given her by your great heart, your incomparable wisdom, and by that candour which so well characterize the present generation of north america.

Shortly after that prayer was penned, Rouërie was found dead in the castle of some friends, where he had gone to hide from the army that Paris had sent to suppress his rebellion.

That noblemen like Lafayette, Duportail, and Armand, born in luxury and bred in a tradition of hauteur, should look to a reticent Virginia planter for inspiration, even though that inspiration led them along divergent paths, is perhaps a paradox. But they were not the only ones among European aristocrats who recognized the true nobility of the American leader. When Rochambeau's army came to the United States, several of Rochambeau's young officers came to see Washington. Their testimony is unanimous. Chastellux, Fersen, and Dumas were some of the most enthusiastic,²⁰ but Ségur was the most eloquent. He said:

Too often reality does not come up to the imagination, and admiration diminishes upon beholding too closely what was once imagined. But at the sight of Washington, I found perfect harmony between the impression that his appearance made and the idea I had earlier formed of him. His appearance reflected almost his entire career. Simplicity, greatness, dignity, calm, goodness, strength were the traits of his face and his manner, as well as of his character. His height was noble, elevated; the expression of his character gentle, benevolent, his smile agreeable; his conduct simple without

²⁰ See Gottschalk, *Lafayette Joins the American Army*, p. 29, n. 20.

familiarity. He did not parade the pomp of a general of our monarchy; everything about him indicated the hero of a republic. He inspired rather than commanded respect, and in the eyes of all those who surrounded him could be seen true affection and complete confidence.²¹

Lafayette tells how disappointed he was when he saw the American army for the first time. "We should be embarrassed to show ourselves before an officer who has just left French troops," said Washington. "I have come to learn and not to teach," replied the young French courtier. There were many who, whether or not they had come to America to teach, also learned; and some of them were older and less impressionable than the major general still in his teens. But his teacher was also theirs.

²¹ *Mémoires*, I: 353.

FRONTIER SKETCHES

BY C. C. CARTER

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I. THE POLITICIAN*

All would be deemed even from the cradle fit,
To rule in politics as well as wit,
The grave, the gay, the fopling and the dunce
Start up (God bless us) statesmen all at once.

Nature does no superfluous work, and it may require the same causes which produce the storm to organize its Ruler. If a great rebellion is boiling among men, the mingling of the elements is projecting, also, the Great Rebel; if a Nation's cause is to be asserted, the principles upon which it rests will first create its appropriate Exponent.

But when no such agitation is on the point of breaking out—when the crisis is not near, and the necessity for such greatness distant—national character probably retains its level. If there be no one whom the people will recognize as the arch-man, the representatives, losing in intensity what they gain in numbers, become a class. They fill the civil stations of the country, and are known as men of mark. Their opinions are received, their advice accepted, their leading followed. No one of them is known instinctively, or trusted implicitly, as the leader by Nature's appointment; yet they are, in fact, the exponents of their time and race. In exact pro-

* This is the first of a series of three articles. The next, "The Schoolmaster," will appear in the *Journal* for June.

portion to the degree in which they possess that character, will they exhibit also the physical peculiarities of their status.

Thus it was, at the time of which we are writing, with the class to which the politician belonged. A description of his personal appearance, like that of any other man, will convey no indistinct impression of his internal character.

Such a description probably requires more characteristic adjectives than that of any other personage of his time—adjectives, some of which were applicable to many of his neighbors, respectively, but all of which might be bestowed only upon him. He was tall, gaunt, angular, swarthy, active, and athletic. His hair was black as the wings of the raven; even on that small portion of his head which the cap of raccoon-skin left exposed to the action of sun and rain the gray was but thinly scattered, imparting to the monotonous darkness only a more ironlike character. As late as the present day, though we have changed in many things, light-haired men seldom attain eminence among the western people. Many of our legislators are young but few of them are beardless. They have a bilious look, as if, in case of illness, their only hope would lie in calomel and jalap. One might understand, at the first glance, that they are men of talent, not of genius; and that physical energy, the enduring vitality of the body, has no inconsiderable share in the power of the mind.

Corresponding to the sable of the hair, the politician's eye was usually small, and intensely black—not the dead, inexpressive jet which gives the idea of a hole through white paper, or of a cavernous socket in a death's head; but rather the keen, midnight dark-

ness in whose depths one can see a twinkle of starlight, where one feels that there is meaning as well as color. There might be an expression of cunning along with penetration, and in much higher degree, the blaze of irascibility. There could be no doubt, from his glance, that its possessor was an excellent hater; you might be assured that he would never forget an injury or betray a friend.

A stoop in the shoulders indicated that in times past the politician had been in the habit of carrying a heavy rifle, and of closely examining the ground over which he walked; but what the chest thus lost in depth it gained in breadth. His lungs had ample space in which to play; there was nothing pulmonary even in the drooping shoulders. Few of his class have ever lived to an advanced age, but it was not for want of iron constitutions that they went early to their graves. The same services to his country, which gave the politician his prominence, also shortened his life.

From shoulders thus bowed, hung long muscular arms, sometimes, perhaps, dangling a little ungracefully, but always under the command of their owner and ready for any effort, however violent. These were terminated by broad bony hands which looked like grapnels; their grip, indeed, bore no faint resemblance to the hold of those symmetrical instruments. Large feet, the toes of which were usually turned in like those of the Indian, were wielded by limbs whose vigor and activity were in keeping with the figure they supported. Imagine, with these peculiarities a free, bold, rather swaggering gait, a swarthy complexion, and conformable features and tones of voice, and—excepting his costume—you have before your fancy a complete pic-

ture of the early western politician.

But the item of costume is too important to be passed over with a mere allusion. As well might we paint a mountain without its verdant clothing, its waving plums of pine and cedar, as the western man without his picturesque and characteristic habiliments. The first and indispensable article of dress was the national hunting-shirt, a garment whose easy fit was well-adapted both to the character of his figure and the freedom of his movements. Its nature did not admit many changes in fashion; the only variations of which it was capable were those of ornament and color. It might be fringed around the cape and skirt, or made plain; it might be blue or copper-colored, perhaps tinged with a little madder. The variety of material was also quite limited, since it must be of either jeans or deerskin.

Corresponding to this, in material, style, and texture, the politician wore also a pair of wide pantaloons—not always of precisely the proper length for the limbs of the wearer, but having invariably a broad waistband coming up close under the arms and answering the purpose of the modern vest. This style of trousers was euphoniously called “barn door pants.” People were not as dainty about “set” and “fit” in those days as they have since become; however, these primitive integuments were equally well-adapted to the figure of any to whose lot they might fall. In their production no one had been concerned save the family of the wearer. The sheep which bore the wool belonged to his own flock, and all the operations, subsequent to the shearing, necessary to the ultimate shaping into a garment had been performed by his wife or daughter. Many politicians have continued this affectation of plainness, even when

the necessity has ceased, on account of its effect upon the masses; for people are apt to entertain the notion that decent clothing is incompatible with mental ability, and that he who is most manifestly behind the improvements of the time is best qualified for official station.

A neckcloth, or cravat, was never seen about the politician's throat—for the same reason of expediency; for these were refinements of affectation which had not then been introduced and a man who thus compassed his neck could no more have been elected to office than if he had worn the cap and bells of a Saxon jester. The shirt-bosoms of modern days were in the same category; and starch was an article contraband to the law of public sentiment—insomuch so that no epithet expressed more thorough contempt for a man than the graphic word, "starched." A raccoon-skin cap—or, as a piece of extravagant finery, a white wool hat—with a pair of heavy shoes, not infrequently without the luxury of hose—or, if with them, made of blue woollen yarn from the back of a sheep of the aforesaid flock that produced the pants—completed the costume of the politician.

He was not very extravagantly dressed, as the reader sees, but we can say of him what could not be as truly spoken of many men, or indeed of many women, of this day, that his clothing bore distinct reference to his character and was well-adapted to his style of beauty. In fact, everything about him—form, face, manners, dress—was in keeping with his characteristics.

In occupation the politician was usually a farmer, for the materials of which popular tribunes have been made in later times—lawyers, gentlemen of leisure, and pugnacious preachers—were not then to be found. The

population of the country was thoroughly agricultural; and though the rural people of the West were neither a cheerful nor a polished race, as a class they possess even yet qualities which, culminating in an individual, eminently fit him for the role of a noisy popular leader.

But a man who is merely fitted to such a position is a very different animal from one who is qualified to make laws for the government of the citizen. In spite of all our vain boasting that public sentiment is the law of our land, there is really a very broad distinction between forming men's opinions and controlling their actions. If the government had been so organized that the pressure of popular feeling might make itself felt, directly, in the halls of legislation, our history, instead of being that of a great and advancing nation, would have been only a chronicle of factious and unstable violence. It does not follow that one who is qualified to lead voters at the polls, or, as they said in the early days, "on the stump," will be able to embody in enlightened enactments the sentiments which he contributes to form, any more than that the tanner will be able to shape a well-fitting boot from the leather he prepares. "*Suum cuique proprium dat Natura donum.*" A blacksmith therefore, is not the best manufacturer of silver spoons, a lawyer the ablest writer of sermons, or either of them necessarily the safest lawmaker.

But those things for which his qualifications were appropriate, the politician did thoroughly and well. For example, he was a skillful farmer, at least in the leading branches of that calling, though he gave little or no attention to the merely ornamental. For the latter he had neither time nor inclination. Even in the essentials, it was only by working, as he expressed it, "to

the best advantage"—that is, contriving to produce the largest result with the least expenditure of labor and patience—that he got sufficient leisure to attend to his public duties; and as for "inclination," no Quaker ever felt a more supreme contempt for mere embellishment.

He was seldom very happy in his domestic relations; for excepting at those seasons when the exigencies of his calling required his constant attention, he spent but little of his time at his own fireside. He absented himself until his home became strange and uncomfortable to him, and then he kept away because it had become so. Every man who may try the experiment will discover that these circumstances mutually aggravate each other—are, interchangeably, cause and effect. His children were, however, always numerous, scarcely ever falling below a half-dozen, and not infrequently doubling that allowance. They generally appeared in rapid succession; one had scarcely time to get out of the way before another was pushing him from his place. The peevishness thus begotten in the mother, by the constant habit of nursing cross cherubs, though it diminished the amount of family peace, contributed, in another way, to the general welfare; it induced the father to look abroad for enjoyments, and thus gave the country the benefit of his wisdom as a political counselor. Public spirit and the consciousness of ability have "brought out" many politicians; but uncomfortable homes have produced many more.

He was an oracle on the subject of hunting and an unerring judge of whisky, to both which means of enjoyment he was strongly attached. He was careful, however, neither to hunt nor drink in solitude, for even

his amusements were subservient to his political interests. To hunt alone was a waste of time, while drinking alone was a loss of good fellowship, upon which much of his influence was founded. He was particularly attached to parties of a half-dozen or more, for in such a group his talents were always conspicuous. Around a burgoo pot, or along the trenches of an impromptu barbecue, he shone in meridian splendor; and the approving smack of his lips over a bottle of "backwoods nectar" was the seal of the judgment which gave character to the liquor.

"Militia musters" were days in his calendar "marked with a white stone," for it was upon these occasions that he appeared at his utmost magnificence. His rank was never lower than that of colonel, but it not infrequently extended to, or even beyond, the rank of "brigadier-general." It was worth "a sabbath-day's journey" on foot to witness one of these parades, for I believe that all the annals of the burlesque do not furnish a more amusing caricature of the pomp and circumstance of war. Compared to one of those militia regiments, Falstaff's famous corps, whose appearance was so unmilitary as to prevent even that liberal-minded gentleman from marching through Coventry in their company, was a model of elegance and discipline. Cedeño's cavalry in the South American wars, though their uniform consisted only of leggings, a pair of spurs, and a Spanish blanket, had more the aspect of a regular *corps d'armée* than these! A mob of rustics was never armed with a more extensive variety of weapons, and no night's haul of a recruiting sergeant's net ever made a more disorderly appearance when mustered in the morning for inspection.

The citizen-soldier knew no more about dressing himself, and the front of his company presented as many inequalities as a worm fence. Tall men and short men, beaver hats and raccoon-skin caps, rusty firelocks and long cornstalks, stiff brogans and naked feet, composed the grand display. There were as many officers as men, and each was continually commanding and instructing his neighbor, but never thinking of himself.

At the command, "Right dress!" (when the officer par excellence knew enough to deliver it) some looked right, others left, some thrust their heads out before, some leaned back to get a glimpse behind, and the whole line waved like a streamer in the wind. "Silence in line!" produced a greater clamor than ever, for each repeated the command to the other, sending the order along the ranks like a rolling fire, and not infrequently enforcing it with a push of a cornstalk, or a vigorous elbow-hint. When a movement was directed the order reached the men successively, by the same process of repetition, so that while some files were walking slowly and looking back to beckon their lagging fellow-soldiers, others were forced to a quick run to regain their places, and the scramble often continued many minutes after the word "Halt!" The longer the parade lasted, the worse the drill became; and after a tedious day's muster, each man knew less, if possible, of military tactics, than he did in the morning.

But the most ludicrous part of the display was the earnest solemnity with which the politician-colonel endeavored "to lick the mass into shape." If you had judged only by the expression of his face, you would have supposed that an invading army was already within our borders and that this democratic army was the

only hope of patriotism to repel the foreign foe. And, indeed, it might not be too much to say that some such idea actually occupied his mind; for he was so fond of "supposing cases," that bare possibilities sometimes grew in his mind to actual realities; and it was a part of his creed, as well as his policy to preach, that a nation's best defense is to be found in "the undisciplined valor of its citizens." His military maxims were not based upon the history of such countries as Poland and Spain, and Hungary had not then added her example to the list. He never understood the relation between discipline and efficiency; and the doctrine of the "largest liberty" was so popular that, according to his theory, it must be universally right. Tempered thus, and modified by some of the tendencies of the demagogue, his love of military parade amounted to a propensity, a trait which he shared with most of the people among whom he lived.

The inference from this characteristic, that he possessed what phrenologists call "combateness," is not unavoidable, though such was the fact. He was, indeed, quite pugnacious, ready at all times to fight for himself or for his friends, and never with any very special or discriminating reference to the cause of quarrel. He was, however, seldom at feud with anyone whose enmity could materially injure him; extensive connections he always conciliated, and every popular man was his friend. Nor was he compelled, in order to compass these ends, to descend to any very low arts; for "the people" were not so fastidious in those days as they seem since to have become, and a straightforward sincerity was then the first element of popularity. The politician was not forced to affect an exemplary "walk and conversa-

tion," nor was an open declaration of principle or opinion dangerous to his success, as it became in later days.

This liberality in public sentiment had its evils, since, for example, the politician was not generally the less esteemed for being rather a hard swearer. In the majority of the class, indeed, this amounted only to an energetic or emphatic mode of expression, and such the people did not less respect than if, in the same person, they had had reason to believe the opposite tone hypocritical. The western people—to their honor be it written—were, and are, mortal enemies to everything like cant; though they might regret that one's morals were no better than they appeared, they were still more grieved if they found evidence that they were worse than they claimed to be.

But though the politician was really very open and candid in all the affairs of life, in his own estimation he was a very dexterous and dangerous intriguer; he often deceived himself into the belief that the success, which was in fact the result of his manly candor, was attributable only to his cunning management. He was always forming, and attempting to execute, schemes for circumventing his political opponents; but, if he bore down all opposition, it was in spite of his chicanery, and not by its assistance. Left-handed courses are never advantageous in the long run, and perhaps it would be well if this lesson were better understood by politicians, even in our own enlightened day.

For the arts of rhetoric he had small respect. In his own opinion, the man who was capable of making a long, florid speech was fit for little else. His own oratorical efforts were usually brief, pithy, and to the point. For example, here follows a specimen which was de-

livered in Illinois by a candidate for the legislature:

Fellow-citizens: I am no speech-maker, but what I say, I'll do. I've lived among you twenty years, and if I've shown myself a clever fellow, you know it without a speech. If I'm not a clever fellow, you know that, too, and wouldn't forget it with a speech. I'm a candidate for the legislature. If you think I'm "the clear grit" vote for me; if you think R—— of a better "stripe" than I am, vote for him. The fact is, that either of us will make a devilish good representative!

For the satisfaction of the reader we should record that the orator was triumphantly elected, and though no "speech-maker," was an excellent member of the legislature for several years.

Added to the fact that this early lawmaker of the Illinois was no speechmaker, he also was unable to read. That he was deficient in "book larnin'," however, was not felt by his constituents to be a defect. A few days after arriving at the seat of government, and as he said, "while learning the ropes" as an incipient Solon, a servant from the hotel where he was quartered came to his desk and laid down a card, announcing that "dinner was waiting him" at the hostelry. Taking a side glance at the intruder and picking up the piece of paper the clerk from the hotel had placed on his desk, he vehemently exclaimed: "I'll sign no such dam'd bill." The waiter explained the importance of an immediate compliance with the contents of his note, and the lack of "book larnin'" of this Illinois legislator became historical.

Another real instance showed that the golden wand of oratory was not always the means of insuring one's election in Illinois. A southern gentleman, a candidate for the legislature, was opposed in an election by a recently-arrived recruit from the Fatherland of Ger-

many. The southerner, whose name was Osborne, was a very striking figure physically, while his mental make-up was typical of the egotism of the southern planter, who held all of the commonalty to be but little better than the "nigger." He was tall and swarthy, with intensely black hair and eyes. In the typical dress of the day, with long black coat cut *a la mode*, tight breeches, large cravat, and the conventional "plug hat," he presented an imposing figure before an audience of western pioneers. Added to this dress was a "high-strung" personality, while his mental attainments were above the average. His opponent was a short, light-complexioned German with red hair, blue eyes, and timid disposition, especially when in a crowd, and had never been known to express himself to an audience. At a political meeting the southerner, after addressing his hearers in a most affable manner, proceeded to delve into the mysteries of government and the application of laws, and finally finished his discourse by narrating the supreme accomplishments that fitted *him* for the office he sought. He sat down amid the plaudits of his hearers. All was silence for a few minutes, when in derision the audience called for his opponent, whose name was Peter Kiefer. To the astonishment of his friends, Kiefer arose, and after addressing the chairman as "Misther Shareman" he said:

Ich know ich not be in a stump speaker like Mr. Osbon and I nots tink I could him beet for der offis, but I dink some dings. Ven I mein alt mule ride der schwamp drugh aus dis meetin come by a swamp hole a lot mit frogs singin'. Seems das big bull frog was for mit Osbon. Das big frog he say solem "Mr. Osbern, Mr. Osbern," and I dink I no could beet him for das offis. Den I vait some more time and dese leetle frogs dey all begin to say "Peter Kiefer, Peter Kiefer," den I dink all dese leetle frogs be for me and if ven das lection all

dese leetle frogs be for me I beet Mr. Osborne. Dey say "Peter Kiefer" more as das big frog say "Mr. Osborne," and day ist vat count on lection day dese numbers.

Needless to say Peter was elected by a good majority and made a faithful servant of the people.

If the early political history of Illinois owed much to the humorous oratory of the Germans, it was still further indebted to the shrewd wit of the Irish. When the judicial system was organized, the state was divided into court circuits or districts, as they were called, and judges and lawyers "rode the circuit" to hold court. That is, they traveled mostly by horseback from place to place and held terms of court for the adjustment of civil affairs and the trial of criminals—of whom there seemed to be plenty.

On one occasion a prominent judge of one of the circuits stopped at a tavern on the road to "put up for the night." Sleeping room was scarce at the tavern, but by "dint of much palaver" the landlord finally arranged a room for the judge by himself. Later an Irishman "from the ould sod" arrived and insisted that he "have accommodations till mornin'." The landlord pondered long on what to do and at last concluded to ask the judge if Pat might occupy the same bed with him. When approached on the subject the judge very obligingly said: "Why yes, if he is a decent-looking Hibernian show him in." Both were tired with the exertions of the day and were soon fast asleep. The next morning the judge was up early and preparing to depart. Out of curiosity he wakened Pat.

"Pat," said the judge, "it would have been a long time you would have had to live in Ireland, before you would have got to sleep with a judge."

"Sure, My Lord yer Honor, and begorra, it would have been a domd long time ye would have had to live in Ireland before ye would have been a jedge."

What happened after this scene, colloquial history does not relate.

The saddest, yet most cheerful, the quaintest, yet most unaffected of moralists, has written "A Complaint upon the Decay of Beggars," which will not cease to be read as long as pure English and pure feeling are understood and appreciated. It is in part a recollection of his childhood—images painted upon his heart, impressions made in his soft and pitying nature; and the "besom of societarian reformation"—legislating busybodies and tinkers of the general welfare—was sweeping them away, with all their humanizing influences and their deep lessons of dire adversity and gentle charity.

There are some memories of the childhood of western men—unlike, and yet similar in their generous persuasions on all pure young hearts—upon whose "Decay" might also be written a "Complaint" which should come as truly, and yet as sadly, from the heart of him who remembers his boyhood, as did that from the heart of Elia. Gatherings of the militia, the burgoo, hunts, barbecues, and anniversaries—phases of a primitive, yet true and hearty time—gave way fast before the march of a barbarous "progress," christened, erroneously, "of intelligence." The hard spirit of money-getting, the harder spirit of education-getting, and the hardest of all spirits, that of pharisaical morality, have divorced our youth, *a vinculo*, from every species of amusement; and life has come to be a probationary struggle, too fierce to allow a moment's relaxation. The bodies of

children are drugged and worried into health, their intellects are stuffed and forced into premature development or early decay—but their hearts are utterly forgotten! Enjoyment is a forbidden thing, and only the miserable cant of “intellectual pleasure” is allowed. Ideas—of philosophy, religious observation, and mathematics—are supplied *ad nauseam*; but the encouragement of a good generous impulse or a magnanimous feeling is too frivolous a thing to have a place in our vile system. Children are “brought up” and “brought out” as if they were composed exclusively of intellect and body. And since the manifestations of any other element are pronounced pernicious, even if the existence of the element itself be recognized, the means of fostering it—innocent amusements, which make the sunshine brighter, the spirits more cheerful and the heart purer and lighter—are sternly prohibited. Alas! for the generation which shall grow up and be “educated” (God save the mark!) as if it had no heart! And woe to the blasphemy which dares to offer as service to Heaven’s gifts, and claims a reward, like the self-tormentors of the Middle Ages, for its vanity and mortifications.

But in the time of the politician of whom we write, these things were far different. We have already seen him at a militia muster, and fain would we pause here to display him at a barbecue. What memories, sweet though sad, we might evoke of “the glorious Fourth” in the olden time! How savory are even the dim recollections of the dripping viands which hung and fried and crisped and crackled over the great fires in the long deep trenches! Our nostrils grow young again with the thought, and the flavor of the feast floats on the breezes of memory, even across the waste of the years which lie

between! And the cool, luxuriant foliage of the grove, the verdant thickets, and among them pleasant vistas, little patches of greensward, covered with gay and laughing parties—even the rosy-cheeked girls in their rustling gingham dresses casting now and then a longing glance toward the yet forbidden tables! How fresh and clear these images return upon the fancy of him who only knows of them as historical happenings!

And then the waving banners, roaring cannon, and the slow procession, moving all too solemnly for our impatient wishes. And finally the dropping of the ropes, the simultaneous rush upon the open feast, and the rapid, perhaps ravenous, consumption of the smoking viands; the jest, the laugh, the all-pleasant merriment, the exhilaration of the crowd, the music and the occasion. What glories were heard from the orator, of victories achieved by our fathers! How we longed—O! brief but glorious dream—to be one day spoken of like Washington! How wildly our hearts leaped in our boyish bosoms as we listened to the accents of the solemn pledge and “declaration”—“our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor!” The whole year went lighter for that one day, and at each return all went home happier and better.

How measureless they thought the politician’s greatness then! This was his proper element. Here he was at home. And as he ordered and directed everything about him, flourishing his marshal’s baton, clearing the way for the procession, settling the order of exercises and reading the programme in a stentorian voice, there was, probably in his own estimation, and certainly in theirs, no more important or honored individual in all that multitude.

In such scenes as these, he was, indeed, without a rival; but there were others, also, in which he was quite as useful, if not so conspicuous. On election days, for instance, when a free people assembled to exercise their "inestimable privilege"—to choose their own rulers—he was as busy as a witch in a tempest. His talents shone forth with especial and peculiar luster for, with him, this was "the day for which all other days were made." He marshaled his retainers and led them to the polls—not as an experienced tactician would have done, with much waste of time in seeking every private voter—but after the manner of feudal times, by calling upon his immediate dependents, captains over tens and twenties, through whom he managed the more numerous masses. These were the "file-leaders," the "fuglemen" and "heads of masses," and it was by a judicious management of these that he was able to acquire and retain an extensive influence.

The first article of his electioneering creed was that every voter was controlled by someone, and that the only way to sway the privates was to govern the officers. Whether true or not, it must be admitted that his theory worked well in practice. He affected to entertain a high respect for those whom he described as "the boys from the heads of the hollers"—men who were never seen beyond the precincts of their own little "clearings" except upon the Fourth of July and election day. With these he drank bad whisky, made stale jokes, and affected a flattering condescension. With others, more important or less easily imposed upon, he "whittled" sociably in the fence-corners, talked solemnly in conspicuous places, and always looked confidential and mysterious.

But however earnestly engaged, he never forgot the warfare in which he was the chief combatant. Like a general upon a field of battle with his staff about him, he had sundry of his friends always near, to undertake any commission or convey any order which he desired to have executed; and not a voter could come upon the ground, whom there was the remotest chance to influence, that his vigilance did not at once discover and seize upon him, through some one of these lieutenants. He resorted to every conceivable art to induce the freemen to vote properly, and, when he could not succeed in this, his next study was to prevent their voting at all. The consequence usually was that he secured his own election or that of his chosen candidates, for in him vigilance and shrewdness were happily combined.

But, perhaps fortunately for the country, his ambition was generally limited to such small offices as he was quite capable of filling. The highest point at which he aimed was a seat in the state legislature, and upon reaching that goal he signalized his term, chiefly if at all, in advocating laws about division fences, and trespassers upon timber—measures which he deemed desirable for his own immediate constituency, with very little care for the question of their general utility. Indeed, he never went to the capital without having his pockets full of "private bills" for the gratification of his personal friends or near neighbors; and if, after a reasonable term of service, he had succeeded in getting all these passed into laws, he came home, contented to "subside" and live the remainder of his days upon the recollection of his legislative honors.

In the course of time, like all other earthly things,

his class began to decay. The tide of immigration, or the increasing intelligence of the people, brought forth men of larger views, and he speedily found himself outstripped in the race and forgotten by his ancient retainers. Then, like his predecessor, the original frontiersman, disgusted with civilization and its refinements, he migrated to more congenial regions, and, in the scenes of his former triumphs was heard of no more.

ILLINOIS IN 1938

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 1

The people of Illinois are welcomed by Governor Horner and other state officials at the annual New Year's Day reception at the Executive Mansion in Springfield.

JANUARY 3

Leroy T. Vernon, veteran newspaper man and member of the staff of the *Chicago Daily News* since 1902, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of fifty-nine.

Marcus A. Kavanagh, a judge of the Superior Court in Chicago for thirty-seven years, is buried with military honors in Los Angeles. He died on December 31, 1937.

JANUARY 4

Harry L. Williams of Chicago dies at the age of sixty-two. He was serving his third term as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives.

JANUARY 6

Accusations of fraud and bribery in connection with the collection of the state sales tax in Chicago are made by investigators. Millions of dollars are said to have been lost to the state.

A total of \$8,693,494 of federal funds is allotted to

Illinois for use on highway projects during the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1939.

JANUARY 7

Charged with bribery and evasion of the state sales tax, one Chicago business man has been arrested and warrants for twenty-two others have been issued.

JANUARY 8

Henry M. Dunlap, well-known horticulturist and a state senator for forty years, dies at his home in Campaign at the age of eighty-four.

JANUARY 9

The heaviest snowfall of the winter occurs in Illinois. In the Chicago area, where a total of five inches is recorded, automobile traffic is greatly retarded and air travel is temporarily suspended.

JANUARY 11

Daniel F. Sullivan, administrative auditor in the state department of finance since 1932, dies at his home in Springfield.

Robert B. Harshe dies at his home in Chicago at the age of fifty-nine. He had been Director of the Art Institute in Chicago since 1921.

JANUARY 12

Eight Chicago business men, charged with sales tax delinquency, are sentenced to jail for terms ranging from thirty days to six months. Another, convicted of impersonating an official of the state finance department, is given a year's sentence.

JANUARY 14

Suspected of having been the kidnaper and murderer of Charles S. Ross of Chicago, Peter Anders is arrested

by United States government agents at the Santa Anita race track in California.

JANUARY 15

Patrick J. Carroll dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-four. He had been a member of the Illinois Senate since 1910.

Five suburban Chicago merchants accused of sales tax delinquency are held to the Cook County grand jury; further investigation into the case of several others will be made. Nineteen employees of the state finance department have been discharged for their part in the fraud.

JANUARY 17

Peter Anders, arrested in California on January 14 as the suspected slayer of Charles S. Ross of Chicago, confesses that he kidnaped Ross on October 8, 1937 and killed him a few days later. Anders also admits the murder of James A. Gray, his accomplice in the crime and in the collection of the \$50,000 ransom which followed.

JANUARY 23

Heavy rains fall in Illinois after a five-months period of very little rain or snow. Many wells are dry, wheat has suffered, and in some areas dust storms have occurred.

JANUARY 24

As torrential rains continue, floods cause extensive damage in various parts of the state. In Rockford, some six hundred people are moved from their homes as the Rock River rises. Thousands of acres of farm land are flooded near Amboy, damaging the winter wheat in many places. In Schuyler County a one-

hundred foot bridge span is washed away by Sugar Creek. Marengo suffers losses from the overflowing Kishwaukee River.

On the Chicago elevated lines a collision, attributed to an early morning fog, causes injuries to twenty-five persons.

JANUARY 25

At Belvidere a new \$250,000 sewage disposal plant is submerged by flood waters of the Kishwaukee River. The coldest weather of the winter is experienced in many places throughout the state. Many highways, too hazardous for safe travel, are closed to traffic.

JANUARY 26

An ice gorge in the Rock River changes the course of the river and causes washouts of power lines. Morrison, Lyndon, Fulton, and Erie are left without electric current. Three highway bridges are washed out in LaSalle County.

JANUARY 27

Fiorello H. La Guardia, mayor of New York City, speaks to members of the Illinois Agricultural Association, meeting in convention in Springfield.

JANUARY 28

Marie Porter is electrocuted in Menard state prison for the murder of her brother. This is only the second time in the entire history of Illinois that a woman has paid the extreme penalty. The first instance occurred in 1845 when Elizabeth Reed died on the gallows for the murder of her husband.

JANUARY 29

The International Air Show opens at the Amphitheater in Chicago.

JANUARY 30

Dr. Orion E. Dyson, a native of Rushville, Illinois, and a former state veterinarian, dies in St. Petersburg, Florida. He was widely known for his work in establishing tuberculin tests for dairy cattle.

FEBRUARY 2

As ice jams in the Rock River threaten great damage to a bridge under construction near Moline, dynamite is used in an attempt to dislodge the ice. The same steps are taken at Sycamore where the suspension bridge over the Kishwaukee River is threatened.

FEBRUARY 5

High waters of the Galena River flood Main Street in Galena. Train service over the Illinois Central, Burlington, and Northwestern railroads is cut off in this area and weights are placed on railroad bridges in an effort to prevent them from being washed away.

FEBRUARY 6

Flood waters which have been three feet deep in some streets of Galena recede as a steady three-day rain comes to an end. At Freeport the Pecatonica River continues to rise and some of the nearby highways are blocked by water. In Dixon a number of families are forced to leave their homes along the Rock River and are being cared for by the Red Cross. In Sterling many factories are flooded, and gas and water plants are threatened.

FEBRUARY 7

Honore Palmer, Jr., grandson of the late Potter Palmer and heir to one-fourth of his vast estate, dies suddenly in his New York apartment at the age of twenty-nine. He was a portrait artist.

FEBRUARY 8

Renewed rains increase flood damage in northern Illinois. At Sterling, the Rock River reaches an all-time high, eleven feet above normal. The gas plant is flooded, cutting off service to some twenty-five thousand users in the district; six factories are forced to close because of water in their basements. Near Prophetstown and Erie, farmers who have only recently returned to their homes after being driven out by the last flood, are again forced to vacate. Flooded highways are closed in many places. Army engineers estimate flood damage in the Rock River Valley at about seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

FEBRUARY 9

Gas service is restored in Sterling and vicinity as flood waters recede. The Rock River drops almost three feet in twenty-four hours.

FEBRUARY 10

Charles T. Dazey, playwright and author, dies at the age of eighty-two. He was born in Lima, Illinois but lived in Quincy for many years. His most famous play, "In Old Kentucky," written in 1891-1892, was produced all over the world and later adopted by the motion picture industry.

FEBRUARY 11

George F. Getz, coal merchant and sportsman of Chicago, dies at Miami Beach, Florida. He was seventy-two years old.

FEBRUARY 12

Abraham Lincoln's birthday is observed. In Springfield, Governor Horner places the original doorplate on the Lincoln home at Eighth and Jackson streets. In this city, too, the American Legion gathers for its

annual pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb. Lincoln, Illinois is the scene of a nationwide broadcast; it is the only one of more than twenty towns of this name in the United States which was so designated before Lincoln became president.

A mild earthquake occurs in northern Illinois, its center apparently about fifty miles from Chicago.

FEBRUARY 17

Death comes to seventy-four year old Joseph B. David, veteran judge of the criminal and superior courts of Chicago.

FEBRUARY 18

Mei-Mei, the second baby giant panda to be taken into captivity, is brought from the Tibeto-Chinese border to the Chicago Zoological Park in Brookfield by Mrs. William H. Harkness.

FEBRUARY 19

Most of the state is covered with either snow, sleet, or ice. A snowfall of three inches in the Chicago area disrupts transportation services there, while sleet on many downstate highways makes them extremely hazardous.

FEBRUARY 22

A fast St. Louis-Chicago train on the Wabash Railroad is wrecked when it crashes into a truck near the village of Worth. The baggage car overturns and five coaches leave the rails, killing one and injuring more than a score.

FEBRUARY 23

Willoughby G. Walling, banker, philanthropist, and former national chairman of the Red Cross, dies at the age of fifty-nine in Chicago.

FEBRUARY 26

Colonel Noble Brandon Judah dies at his home in Chicago at the age of fifty-three. A lawyer by profession, he was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1911-1912 and United States ambassador to Cuba in 1927-1929.

FEBRUARY 28

Counting the thirty-five new producing wells brought in in the Illinois basin in February, the total number of successful wells discovered in the eleven fields of the state since the boom began is now 230. These wells are producing a total of 800,000 barrels of oil per month while a year ago the monthly output of the state was only 370,000 barrels.

MARCH 1

The University of Illinois celebrates its seventieth anniversary. When it opened with Dr. John Milton Gregory as president and two professors on the faculty, only fifty students were enrolled. Today it is the fifth largest educational institution in the country.

MARCH 9

Professor Laurence M. Larson, member of the faculty in the History Department of the University of Illinois for thirty years, dies in Urbana at the age of sixty-nine. He was president of the American Historical Association and of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

MARCH 11

Announcement is made that the old jail in Carthage where Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mormon leaders, were assassinated on June 27, 1844, is to be restored by the Church of Latter Day Saints.

MARCH 13

Clarence Darrow, famous lawyer, author, and humanitarian, dies at his home in Chicago.

Eight hundred employees of the National Sewing Machine Company in Belvidere vote to go on strike on March 14. Leaders declare that they are calling the strike because the company has refused to bargain collectively.

MARCH 15

A tornado, roaring up the Mississippi Valley from Arkansas, strikes Belleville and the neighboring community, bringing death to ten people and serious injuries to twenty-seven others. Property damage is estimated at a half-million dollars. Nearly two hundred buildings are wrecked as the storm cuts a swath about a hundred yards wide through the west end of the city. Electric power is cut off and the telephone system is badly damaged.

MARCH 16

John Henry Seadlund, known also as Peter Anders, receives a death sentence for the kidnaping and murder of Charles S. Ross of Chicago.

MARCH 18

Oil production in Illinois has tripled in the last twelve months, according to a report by Dr. M. M. Leighton, chief of the state geological survey.

Floyd Orlin Hale of La Grange dies in Hartford, Connecticut. He was chairman of the board of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company.

The disaster loan corporation announces that it has purchased land for the new Shawneetown which will be built three miles from the site of the old town.

MARCH 19

The strike at the National Sewing Machine Company in Belvidere continues. Eight hundred employees are out of work.

MARCH 21

H. Paul Samuell, former justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, dies at his home in Jacksonville at the age of fifty-one.

MARCH 22

A new oil well, ranking second to the largest producer in Illinois, is brought in north of Noble in Richland County. It is the Pure Oil Company's Montgomery B 5 and has an initial daily flow of over 2,420 barrels. The record in the Illinois field is held by Clay County's Bunny Travis No. 1 which produced 2,664 barrels in its first twenty-four hours on May 23, 1937.

MARCH 25

The Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture celebrates its fiftieth anniversary.

Illinois is allowed \$20,814,013 by Congress as its share in the refund of unemployment insurance taxes. These refunds are for taxes collected from employers in 1936, before the state had established its unemployment insurance system.

MARCH 26

George E. Martin, member of the Illinois legislature from 1898 to 1900, dies at his home in Mound City. He was seventy-two years old at the time of his death.

MARCH 27

Plans for the construction of four new buildings at New Salem State Park during 1938 are announced by the Department of Public Works and Buildings. Included are the Herndon Brothers' residence, the Miller blacksmith shop, the Hill carding machine, and the dam and mill in the Sangamon River.

MARCH 28

The Herman Eberhardt No. 1 well near Noble, operated by the Gulf Refining Corporation, comes in with 2,622 barrels during the first twenty-four hours. Few other wells in the entire basin have approached such a record.

MARCH 29

Several persons are injured in Belvidere in an early morning battle between strikers at the plant of the National Sewing Machine Company and police. The state department of labor is called upon to help end the strike which started on March 14.

MARCH 30

A tornado lashes Illinois from the southwest, leaving twelve dead, many injured, and extensive property damage. The storm strikes chiefly at places in the Illinois River Valley. South Pekin, a village of some twelve hundred inhabitants, suffers almost complete destruction. Over two hundred buildings are wrecked during the three-minute period of the storm. One hundred and fifty railroad cars, standing on the tracks, are left in a crumpled mass. To add to its desolation, the town's electric power and water supply are cut off. Eight deaths and numerous injured are reported, sixty of the latter being rushed to nearby hospitals. At Rushville, also in the path of the storm, several persons are injured and property damage is estimated

at over a hundred thousand dollars; light, water, and telephone service are disrupted for several hours. The city of Alton also estimates its damage at well over a hundred thousand dollars; more than forty buildings are unroofed there and electric lines are down. Mount Sterling, Litchfield, Carlinville, Venice, Centralia, Morton, Astoria, Bunker Hill, Timewell, and Gillespie are among the other towns of the state suffering considerable losses.

The strike continues at the plant of the National Sewing Machine Company in Belvidere. Two hundred pickets patrol the plant. Mayor Perry A. Cratty, stating that the situation is out of control, asks that the city be placed under martial law.

MARCH 31

The Red Cross estimates that in the seven Illinois counties affected by the tornado of the preceding day, there were 213 buildings destroyed, 282 others damaged, and 2,500 people made homeless. Thirteen dead, more than one hundred injured, and \$1,000,000 property damage are listed in the storm's toll. Red Cross workers administer relief throughout the stricken areas. Company F of the Illinois National Guard is on duty in South Pekin which was almost entirely destroyed. Partial telephone service is restored there but electric power is still lacking; water is sent in from Springfield and other cities.

APRIL 1

Refugees from the tornado of March 30 in South Pekin are inoculated against disease. The death toll of the storm has now mounted to thirteen for the village.

Su-Lin, the first baby giant panda in captivity, dies at the Brookfield Zoo in Chicago, apparently suffering from a throat infection.

Champion Joe Louis and Harry Thomas fight in Chicago for the heavyweight championship of the world. Louis knocks out Thomas in the third round.

APRIL 2

Tornado fatalities in South Pekin mount to fifteen, several persons having died of injuries received in the storm of March 30. Forty-eight residents of Tazewell County are still in hospitals.

Wheat prices set new "lows" for the season on the Chicago Board of Trade. A price of $80\frac{1}{8}$ cents on July contracts is the lowest figure quoted for any future since July, 1935.

The three-weeks old strike of 800 employees of the National Sewing Machine Company at Belvidere is ended when employees are granted an "upward adjustment of wages" and a forty-five hour week. However, within two hours the strike is renewed and picket lines are re-established because of a disagreement over the length of time the new contract is to run.

APRIL 5

George B. Marvel, arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission, rules that the Radium Dial Company, formerly located at Ottawa, is liable for the disability of Mrs. Catherine Donohue, and orders that company to pay her a life pension and various other sums as compensation under terms of the Occupational Disease Act.

The company will appeal the decision. Fourteen other women who were also employed by the Radium Dial Company are ill with similar afflictions.

APRIL 6

The heaviest April snow in the history of the weather bureau is recorded in Chicago as 9.1 inches fall. Huge drifts, many of them waist deep, block highways in northern Illinois while central Illinois is drenched with heavy rains. The Illinois River is ten feet above normal at Beardstown.

Robert M. Sweitzer, prominent in Cook County politics for many years, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-nine.

APRIL 7

Heavy rains continue in most of central and northern Illinois, making highways impassable in some places.

APRIL 8

Severe snow, ice, and rain storms extend over most of the state, causing widespread damage and serious disruption to traffic. In the Chicago area many of the highways are blocked; airplane travel over most of the state is abandoned. Ice and sleet cause breaks in many power lines, especially in Logan and Mason counties. The Sangamon River is at flood stage. The Illinois River is nearing the danger stage at Peoria.

APRIL 9

The Illinois-Iowa Corporation announces that it has purchased 120 acres of land on the Illinois River, north of Havana, on which it will erect the largest private power plant in the United States. The generative capacity will be 105,000 kilowatts per hour. Cost is estimated at \$14,000,000.

Otto C. Sonnemann, a member of the state House of Representatives from 1914 to 1926, dies at his home in Carlinville.

APRIL 12

The Illinois River reaches a twenty-one foot stage at Beardstown. Thousands of acres of land along the Sangamon River are under water and in some places families in the lowlands have been forced to leave their homes.

As the result of the primary election in the state, the following persons are nominated for office: United States senator, Scott W. Lucas and Richard J. Lyons; state treasurer, Louie E. Lewis and William R. McCauley; superintendent of public instruction, Wiley B. Garvin and John A. Wieland; clerk of the Supreme Court, Adam F. Bloch and George E. Lambur, Jr.; congressman-at-large, Stephen A. Day, Simon E. Lantz, John C. Martin, and T. V. Smith.

Judge Warren W. Duncan dies in Marion at the age of eighty-one. He served two terms as circuit judge and two as Illinois Supreme Court justice. He retired from the latter office in 1933.

APRIL 14

The seventy-third anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln is commemorated at his tomb in Springfield. Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War have charge of the program.

APRIL 16

Jerome ("Dizzy") Dean is bought from the St. Louis Cardinals by the Chicago Cubs for \$185,000 in cash and three other players.

APRIL 19

Cornelius J. Doyle, prominent lawyer and political leader, dies at the age of sixty-seven in Springfield.

In contrast to the record-breaking snow storms which occurred in many parts of Illinois in the early part of April, a heat wave now sets new high marks for the season in various parts of the state.

APRIL 23

Twenty-four persons are injured in Chicago when a steel elevated express train rams a wooden office car standing at the 51st Street "L" station. Rain, with resulting poor vision, is assigned as the cause of the accident.

APRIL 24

Dr. Frank Justus Miller, head of the Department of Latin Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago for thirty-four years, dies in Norwalk, Connecticut.

APRIL 27

A new rush of drilling starts in the Olney oil field after the Pyramid Company's University of Chicago Well No. 1 produces an initial flow of more than a thousand barrels in the first twenty-four hours.

APRIL 29

The Chicago Zoological Society announces that it has bought Mei-Mei, the baby giant panda which has been in its zoo at Brookfield since February. The purchase price of \$8,500 goes to Mrs. William H. Harkness, Jr., who brought her from western China.

"Dizzy" Dean, ball player for whom the Chicago Cubs

paid \$185,000, injures his arm in a game against the Cincinnati Reds and is forced to retire from the game for several weeks.

MAY 1

The new \$8,880,000 government dam at Alton is placed in service. This dam—No. 26—marks the lower end of the 658 mile stretch along which dams and locks have been or will be constructed. In this way boats will be lifted a total of 324 feet between Alton and Minneapolis and a constant nine-foot channel will be obtained.

MAY 3

Frederick Arthur Stowe, editor-in-chief of the *Peoria Journal Transcript*, dies at his home in Peoria at the age of sixty-seven.

MAY 8

William J. Stratton dies at his home in Ingleside, Lake County, at the age of fifty-two. Mr. Stratton was the first director of conservation for the state and from 1928 until 1932 he was Secretary of State in Illinois.

MAY 10

The sit-down strike is declared illegal by the second Illinois appellate court reviewing the sentences imposed on thirty-nine men for their activities in the strike at the plant of the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation in February, 1937. The court rules that failure of an employer to bargain collectively does not justify seizure of his plant, and affirms the sentences imposed on the strikers.

MAY 13

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society gather in Bloomington for the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Society. A luncheon, followed by speeches, is on the program for the afternoon and in the evening the

annual dinner is held. On the latter occasion Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, is the principal speaker.

MAY 14

The Illinois State Historical Society continues its annual meeting, the day's sessions being held at the Illinois State Normal University in Normal.

MAY 15

A tiny wingless autogiro makes the round-trip journey between the Chicago Airport and Post Office in seventeen minutes, inaugurating National Air Mail Week. Mail trucks usually require ninety minutes to make this trip of approximately eight miles. The machine descends vertically, landing on the roof of the Post Office, fourteen stories above the ground, to deliver and pick up pouches of air mail.

The Canadian steamship *Le Moyne* leaves Chicago for Europe with the largest shipment of corn ever loaded on the Great Lakes. The cargo will be transshipped through Montreal.

MAY 17

Governor Horner summons members of the Illinois general assembly to meet in special session on May 20 to consider emergency legislation on twenty-two subjects. Chicago's relief problem is one of the chief matters to be discussed.

Enormous shipments of corn by lake steamers from Chicago have established a new all-time record during the last five days with a total loading of 4,500,000 bushels. Since the first of this month 13,792,000 bushels of corn

have been shipped by this route from Chicago while in the entire lake navigation season of 1937 only 7,079,000 bushels were loaded. An extraordinary demand by European countries is responsible for this activity.

MAY 19

As a feature of National Air Mail Week, 146 private flyers are carrying mail in their planes in Illinois this week, providing many villages and towns with air mail service for the first time. At the conclusion of their flights, all will converge on Chicago.

MAY 20

Members of the Illinois general assembly are convened in extraordinary session in Springfield.

MAY 25

Two bills are rushed through the legislature, meeting in special session, to provide an additional sum of \$4,500,000 for relief for the next nine months by appropriating an extra \$500,000 each month. Governor Horner signs the bills and immediate distribution of food will be made.

MAY 26

The Northwest Territory Sesqui-Centennial caravan presents the first showing in this state of its pageant, "Freedom on the March," in Danville. Governor Horner and other members of the Illinois commission sponsoring the tour in Illinois are present to extend an official welcome.

John G. Oglesby dies at his farm home, "Oglehurst," near Elkhart, at the age of sixty. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1904 to 1908 and was Lieutenant Governor from 1909 to 1913 and

from 1917 to 1921. His father, Richard J. Oglesby, was three times Governor of Illinois.

MAY 27

H. V. Teel of Rushville, serving his seventh term in the Illinois House of Representatives and a nominee for re-election, dies at the age of seventy.

MAY 30

Monticello College at Godfrey closes a three-day celebration of its centennial. The College, originally known as Monticello Female Seminary, was founded by Theron Baldwin under the patronage of Captain Benjamin Godfrey.

MAY 31

Herbert W. Mumford, dean of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture, dies at the age of sixty-seven.

JUNE 4

MacMurray College receives a gift of \$1,000,000 from James E. MacMurray of Pasadena, California. The donation consists largely of properties in Los Angeles and Santa Monica, California.

JUNE 6

A strike is called at the plant of the Chicago Hardware Foundry Company in North Chicago by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, protesting an order of the company for a ten per cent decrease in wages.

JUNE 9

Heavy shipments of corn from Chicago by the lake route so far this year have broken all records for any similar period during the sixty-three years of record-keeping by the Chicago Board of Trade. Up to the present time, such cargoes have totaled 30,924,000 bushels.

JUNE 10

The William R. McCauley B 1 oil well is brought in near Noble flowing seventy-five barrels in twenty minutes. Lack of storage facilities necessitates shutting it down at the end of this time. Illinois now ranks second only to Texas in oil drilling operations. Dr. M. M. Leighton, chief of the state geological survey, reports that during the week ending on this date 202 new drilling ventures have been in progress while 339 locations were being drilled in Texas. Five hundred and ninety-eight wells have been drilled in Illinois since the first of this year, while there was a total of only forty-one during this period last year.

Three officers and five enlisted men are killed when an army bombing plane in which they are flying crashes near Delavan during an electrical storm. State officials believe that a defective propeller blade was the cause of the accident.

JUNE 11

An army board of inquiry investigating the cause of the army bombing plane crash of the preceding day expresses the opinion that the severe electrical storm through which the ship was passing was in some way responsible for the disaster.

Having reached the age limit of sixty-eight years, six University of Illinois faculty members retire this week. They are: Professor Chauncey Baldwin, a member of the Department of English for thirty-seven years; Professor Ernest L. Bogart, member of the Department of Economics for twenty-nine years and head since 1920; B.

Rupert Hall, associate in the Department of Mechanical Engineering for twenty years; Professor Charles F. Hottes, head of the Department of Botany for ten years and member of the faculty for forty-three years; Professor Edward J. Lake, head of the Art Department for seventeen years and member of the faculty for forty-one years; and Professor George B. Schwartz, a member of the faculty in the School of Music for thirty-six years.

JUNE 12

Samuel John Duncan-Clark, veteran Chicago newspaper man and a lecturer and civic leader, dies in Toronto, Ontario.

JUNE 14

A new monument to Lincoln is dedicated and presented to the state of Illinois by the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution. Marking the site where the Lincoln family entered Illinois, it stands at the end of the Lincoln Memorial Bridge over the Wabash, opposite Vincennes. The monument, designed and executed by Nellie Walker of Chicago, consists of a limestone panel depicting the entrance of the family into the state. The figure of young Abraham is shown in bronze.

JUNE 15

Several new streamlined trains leave Chicago on their first regular runs. Among them are the Twentieth Century Limited of the New York Central Lines and the Broadway Limited of the Pennsylvania Railroad, both inaugurating a sixteen-hour schedule to New York.

JUNE 23

A second special session of the legislature is called to provide an additional \$2,800,000 for relief. Among the other subjects to be considered are a bill permitting Chicago to divert \$2,500,000 of its gas tax from a road

fund to relief purposes, and also the appropriation of \$2,500,000 to match W.P.A. funds, in case they are made available, for a state welfare building program. This new session will run concurrently with the first special session which was convened on May 20.

Dr. Thomas Hanna McMichael, president emeritus of Monmouth College, dies at the age of seventy-five. He had retired on July 1, 1936 after being head of the institution for thirty-three years.

Dr. A. E. Turner, former president of Lincoln College at Lincoln, Illinois, dies in Vandalia. He resigned in 1931 after serving for twenty-five years.

JUNE 24

Torrential rains, accompanied by wind in some places, cause considerable damage in various parts of the state. In Peoria and vicinity a three-inch rain falls in less than an hour, flooding the area between East Peoria and Pekin to a depth of three feet in some places. Hundreds of motorists are forced to abandon their cars on the highways. At Joliet a violent windstorm, lasting about four minutes, uproots trees and wrecks a number of buildings. At Bloomington some of the tracks of the Big Four, Illinois Terminal, Alton, and Nickel Plate railroads are washed out by a five-inch rain. Near Springfield an airplane hangar and several planes are badly damaged by the wind.

JUNE 26

Walter T. Gunn of Danville is elected to the Illinois Supreme Court to fill the unexpired term of the late Chief Justice Lott R. Herrick of Farmer City, who died on September 18, 1937.

JUNE 29

Dr. George A. Zeller, former superintendent of the Peoria State Hospital and widely known for his work in the treatment of mental cases, dies in Peoria.

JUNE 30

The number of oil wells brought in in Illinois during the past month has exceeded that for any previous month in the year. One hundred and forty-seven producers are reported, with a total yield estimated at 1,500,000 barrels.

JULY 1

The two special sessions of the legislature adjourn sine die. Most noteworthy among the bills passed are the following:

Drivers' license bill requiring all motorists to secure licenses by May 1, 1939.

Two appropriations for relief purposes, one providing for the sum of \$4,500,000 covering a period of nine months and the other for a total of \$2,800,000 for the next seven months.

Chicago is given authority to use \$2,500,000 of its gas tax refunds for relief purposes.

The sum of \$3,000,000 is appropriated to the state welfare department for the construction of new buildings in case federal aid for such purposes is secured.

An appropriation of \$1,000,000 is made for the benefit of certain needy high school districts in the state.

The sum of \$700,000 is voted for the construction of a new building at the University of Illinois to replace University Hall which was recently declared unsafe.

Extension of the utility sales tax at three per cent for another year.

Chicago airport bill giving powers to the city and

railroads to facilitate the expansion of the Municipal Airport.

Chief among the proposed bills which failed to pass were bills providing for new taxation, for the calling of a constitutional convention, for a state school board, and for the regulation and taxation of Illinois oil fields.

Cloudbursts in northern Illinois, in many places accompanied by wind, cause extensive crop damage and property losses. Many normally small streams, already swollen by ten days' steady rain, overflow on thousands of acres of hay and small grains in Cook and McHenry counties. Numerous highways are closed to traffic, leaving hundreds of automobiles marooned. Some half-dozen large bridges are washed out in McHenry County. The Milwaukee Railroad is forced to cancel service out of Fox Lake and Libertyville, and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad service is badly crippled around Crystal Lake and Lake Geneva.

JULY 2

Flood losses in Illinois mount as heavy rains continue. Crop and property damage is estimated at well over a million dollars. In Cook, Lake, and McHenry counties many railroads are still unable to give regular service. Fulton County reports extensive damage to electric service and a considerable area of the wheat acreage flattened.

An injunction is issued by Circuit Judge Ralph J. Dady forbidding interference with those who wish to return to work at the Chicago Hardware Foundry plant. Employees have been on strike since June 6.

JULY 8

Dr. Joseph R. Harker, eighty-five year old educator, dies at his home in Jacksonville. Dr. Harker was president of Illinois Woman's College, now MacMurray College, from 1893 to 1925.

JULY 14

State Representative William W. Powers of Chicago dies at the age of sixty-one. He had served seven terms in the House and was a nominee for re-election at the time of his death.

Crown Prince Gustav Adolf and royal party from Sweden, in the United States for the tercentenary celebration of the Swedish colony at Wilmington, Delaware, arrive in Chicago.

John Henry Seadlund, kidnaper and murderer of Charles S. Ross of Chicago, dies in the electric chair at Cook County jail.

JULY 16

Crown Prince Gustav Adolf and his royal party from Sweden appear in a colorful parade in Chicago. Later a celebration is held at Soldier Field.

Samuel Insull dies of a heart ailment in Paris, France.

JULY 17

Plans for the conservation of the water resources of the Sangamon River basin are announced by the Illinois state planning commission in a report to the national resources committee. One hundred and seventy-nine projects, involving an expenditure of \$10,000,000, are proposed; these will include municipal sewage, water plants, dams, and levee improvements.

Ten leaders of the strike started at the Chicago Hardware and Foundry plant on June 6 are declared to be in contempt of court in violating an injunction and are sentenced to jail terms ranging from twenty to one hundred and twenty days. The ruling is handed down in Waukegan several hours after the sheriff and fifteen deputies of Lake County make unsuccessful attempts to move the picket lines.

JULY 19

Pickets blocking the entrance to the strike-bound Chicago Hardware Foundry plant are driven several blocks away from the foundry by officers launching a gas attack. This action is taken after pickets disregard orders of police and deputy sheriffs demanding their dispersal.

JULY 23

Dennis F. Kelly, veteran merchant and civic leader of Chicago, dies in Bergen, Norway.

JULY 26

Miss Kate Jane Adams, pioneer social worker in Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-eight.

JULY 29

Howard Hughes and the crew of four who accompanied him on his flight around the world in ninety-one hours on July 11-14, arrive in Chicago. Following an elaborate demonstration on their arrival at the airport they are welcomed by officials at the City Hall and later entertained at a banquet.

JULY 31

During the month just ended, three new oil fields have been opened in the state: the North Aden in Wayne County, the Ina in Jefferson County, and the Lake Centralia in Marion County. This makes a total of sixteen fields in the downstate area, with 834 producing wells

in operation; of this number, 362 are in the Centralia field.

AUGUST 1

Prices on the Chicago Board of Trade reach the lowest levels since 1933. Corn futures lead the decline, closing at $55\frac{1}{8}$, September wheat at $66\frac{3}{4}$ cents, September oats at 23 cents, and September rye at $44\frac{3}{4}$ cents.

AUGUST 6

Joseph W. Fifer, former Governor of Illinois, dies at his home in Bloomington at the age of ninety-seven. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1880 to 1884 and Governor of Illinois from 1889 to 1893. From 1899 until 1906 he was a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

AUGUST 11

Samuel Carson Pirie of Chicago, chairman of the board of Carson Pirie Scott & Company, dies in Newport, Rhode Island.

AUGUST 15

Pauline Palmer, noted Chicago artist, dies in Trondheim, Norway while on an artists' tour of Scandinavian countries.

AUGUST 16

Union employees of the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Electric Railroad vote to go on strike in protest against a proposed fifteen per cent reduction in wages. Thirteen hundred men are out of work as the 236 daily trains of the company cease operation.

AUGUST 20

Douglas Corrigan, aviator, arrives in Chicago in the \$900 "crate" in which he flew the Atlantic. He is given a tumultuous welcome at the parade and reception in his honor and also at the Chicagoland Music Festival.

AUGUST 31

During August the production of oil in Illinois has amounted to 1,900,000 barrels, three-fourths of this amount coming from the new fields. One hundred and fifty successful completions during the month have set a new record for the present boom. According to a report from Dr. M. M. Leighton, chief of the state geological survey, there are now almost a thousand producing wells in the state, distributed in the various fields as follows: Centralia, 420; Clay City, 143; Noble, 142; Patoka, 109; Beecher City, 66; Bartelso, 30; Dix, 19; Lake Centralia, 14; Olney, 12; Cisne, 8; Schnell, 5; North Aden, 4; Flora, 4; Aden, 3; Ina, 1; Rinard, 1.

The first upturn in pay rolls and employment in Illinois in eleven months is reported by Martin P. Durkin, state director of labor. His survey, covering 6,649 firms, indicates a 3.7 per cent increase in wages over July and a 1.7 per cent advance in employment.

SEPTEMBER 6

Violent deaths of twenty-three people in Illinois over the Labor Day week-end are reported. Traffic accidents were responsible for fourteen of these fatalities.

SEPTEMBER 8

George W. Dixon, prominent business, religious, and civic leader in Chicago for many years and a former member of the Illinois Senate, dies in Miami, Florida.

SEPTEMBER 10

Possibility of the development of a natural gas field in Illinois to compete with the current oil boom is seen with the bringing in of an outstanding gas well during the past week in Lawrence County. The well, known as

the Haughton No. 1, came in at 1,100 feet and showed an estimated daily capacity of 4,057,000 feet.

SEPTEMBER 14

George W. Bunn, Sr., prominent banker and merchant of Springfield, dies at his summer home near South Dartmouth, Massachusetts at the age of seventy-seven.

SEPTEMBER 19

Edward E. Mitchell, treasurer of the state from 1911 to 1913, dies at his home in Carbondale.

SEPTEMBER 22

Unions taking part in the strike on the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad are warned to end their disputes before further losses result from rusting tracks, idle men and equipment, and diversion of traffic. Disagreement on jurisdiction continues between the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees on one side and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen on the other side.

SEPTEMBER 30

The completion of 199 new producing wells in Illinois during the month of September has set a new record of development in the oil fields of the state. Fayette County is in the lead with 63 producers. The 1,180 wells in Illinois produced 2,055,000 barrels of oil in September, an amount almost as great as that yielded in the entire year of 1937 when a total of 2,884,000 barrels was recorded.

During the last nine months the lowest death rate in the history of the state has been recorded, with a figure of 10.5 per 1,000 population. The biggest reduction has been in the number of deaths resulting from tubercu-

losis, though fatalities from cancer and heart disease are still on the increase. The birth rate of 15.3 per 1,000 for the same period is the highest since 1932.

OCTOBER 1

The Chicago Cubs win the championship in the National League.

Possibility of ending the strike of employees of the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad is seen as a tentative agreement is signed by representatives of the company and the union. The proposed settlement will be voted on by the 1,300 employees who have been out of work since August 16.

OCTOBER 4

The Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden at Lake Springfield is dedicated at the semi-annual meeting of the Illinois Garden Club, Inc. Representatives from the fifty-two clubs in the state which have had a part in the development of the garden are present at the ceremonies.

OCTOBER 6

Service on the Chicago, North Shore and Milwaukee Railroad is resumed after having been suspended since August 16 because of a strike. According to the agreement made by the company and employees, the Amalgamated Association will be the sole bargaining agent and operating employees must belong to it. Employees are to take part of their pay in script and after ninety days arrangements for a new scale of wages will be made. The contract will be good until May 31, 1939.

OCTOBER 7

The eightieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg is celebrated with a non-political gathering on the Knox College campus. Richard J. Lyons and

Scott W. Lucas, present-day candidates for election to the United States Senate, are the speakers.

OCTOBER 8

The Chicago Cubs lose the World Series to the New York Yankees as the result of four consecutive defeats since the series opened on October 5.

OCTOBER 13

The tri-state corn husking contest is held on the Hufnagle farm near Barry, Illinois before a crowd estimated at six to eight thousand people. By husking 23.94 bushels in eighty minutes, Walter Johannsen of Ross, Iowa becomes the winner.

OCTOBER 22

A suit involving the right of the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation of North Chicago to discharge employees who seized its property in a sit-down strike in February, 1937 is taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The federal circuit court of appeals in Chicago has ruled that the employer has the privilege of firing strikers who take such action and the national labor relations board is now appealing this decision. The board argues that the strike resulted from the failure of the company to bargain with employees and insists that all the men be reinstated and given back pay.

OCTOBER 25

Permanent closing of many grade crossings in Illinois, as soon as agreements can be made with local groups, is provided for in the five-year plan recently inaugurated by the state highway department. According to Chief Engineer Ernst Lieberman, Illinois has 18,000 highway-railroad grade crossings, only about twenty per cent of which are protected by automatic signals or watchmen. The state has already started construction on forty-one

grade crossing separations and about a hundred signal installations and similar projects. The entire program, now under way, will cost \$5,000,000.

OCTOBER 28

The new state Archives Building in Springfield is dedicated during the annual meetings of the Society of American Archivists and the Illinois Library Association.

OCTOBER 31

The fifteenth annual state cornhusking contest is held at Modesto with a crowd estimated at sixty-five to eighty-five thousand in attendance. Irvin Bauman, twenty-four year old Woodford County farmer, wins the first prize by husking 32.759 bushels in the eighty-minute competition, and Ecus Vaughan of Piatt County wins second place. Both are thereby eligible to enter the national contest to be held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota on November 3.

Three hundred and forty-five oil and gas wells have been brought in in Illinois during October. Sixty-eight other wells proved to be dry. There are now 1,519 producing wells in seventeen separate oil fields of the Illinois basin. Since January 1, the total production in the state has been 16,854,000 barrels.

NOVEMBER 2

Heat records for autumn are broken in Chicago as the thermometer reaches seventy-six degrees; other localities in the state report similarly unseasonable temperatures. Drought accompanying the heat wave has caused extensive damage and it has become necessary to haul water to some of the stricken areas.

NOVEMBER 4

The building of open fires outside of municipalities is forbidden in a proclamation issued by the Governor of Illinois. Because of the drought the danger of fire has reached an acute stage. At least fifty fires in southern Illinois have already burned over thousands of acres. In some places "open-space vigils" have been organized in an effort to prevent spreading of the flames.

Violent windstorms, striking various sections of the state, cause thousands of dollars' worth of damage. In Shelbyville a three-minute gale unroofs a factory; Taylorville and Pana report losses due to the blowing down of chimneys, trees, and wires; in Harrisburg a radio tower is demolished; East St. Louis, Effingham, Salem, Sullivan, and Centralia also report property damage. In certain sections rain quenches the forest fires.

Leading railroad executives of the country, meeting in Chicago, avert a probable nationwide strike by abandoning plans for a five per cent decrease in wages for their 961,000 employees.

NOVEMBER 8

The recent proclamation of the Governor prohibiting open fires in rural areas of Illinois is rescinded. Heavy rains have now quenched most of the fires which have been raging in various sections of the state.

In elections held in Illinois the following candidates are selected for office: Scott W. Lucas, United States senator; Louie E. Lewis, state treasurer; Adam F. Bloch, clerk of the Supreme Court; John C. Martin and T. V. Smith,

congressmen-at-large; and John A. Wieland, superintendent of public instruction.

NOVEMBER 11

The new \$3,100,000 bridge across the Ohio River at Cairo is dedicated.

NOVEMBER 12

The Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation of North Chicago asks the Supreme Court of the United States to refuse to review the case appealed to it by the National Labor Relations Board on October 22. The suit deals with the company's right to discharge employees who took part in the sit-down strike in February, 1937.

NOVEMBER 15

A new wave of excitement prevails in the Illinois oil fields as a well abandoned twenty-two years ago is discovered a few miles southwest of Rushville. After buckets lowered into the well are brought up full of crude oil, plans for a new test well are announced.

NOVEMBER 16

New outbreaks of forest fires are reported in several parts of the state. Carelessness of sportsmen is blamed for many of these and warnings are issued to them to use extreme caution.

NOVEMBER 17

Charles L. Billings of Chicago, member of the Illinois Senate from 1908 to 1911, dies at the age of eighty-two.

NOVEMBER 18

General rainfall removes the fire hazard which has existed in southern Illinois in recent weeks.

NOVEMBER 19

An all-time record of activity is made in the southern Illinois oil basin as 700 operations are reported for the past week. One hundred and twenty wells were com-

pleted, sixty of them in the Lake Centralia-Salem field.

NOVEMBER 21

Mary Lincoln Isham, granddaughter of Abraham Lincoln, dies in New York. Her father was Robert Todd Lincoln. Her sister, Mrs. Robert Randolph, is now the only surviving grandchild of the Civil War president.

All trading ceases at the Chicago Union Stockyards as 585 members of the C.I.O. Live Stock Handlers Union walk out on strike. They demand a forty-hour week, a wage increase for men getting less than sixty-two and a half cents per hour, a written agreement, a closed shop, time and a half pay for overtime work, and a "check-off" of union dues.

NOVEMBER 22

Shippers have been warned to discontinue all shipments of stock to the Chicago Union Stockyards because of the strike of stock handlers there. The 20,000 cattle, 37,000 hogs, and 11,000 sheep already accumulated are handled by "white collar" workers from commission offices at the Stockyards.

NOVEMBER 23

Otto Kerner resigns his position as Attorney General of Illinois to accept an appointment as judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. John E. Cassidy of Peoria is appointed to the office of attorney general in his place.

NOVEMBER 25

Governor Henry Horner, ill for the last three weeks, goes to Florida to recuperate.

NOVEMBER 26

The International Live Stock Exposition opens in Chicago. Eleven thousand, six hundred and twenty-one

animals, valued at \$5,000,000, are placed on exhibition.

NOVEMBER 28

William H. Curry of Tipton, Indiana is named corn king of North America at the hay and grain show of the International Live Stock Exposition being held in Chicago. This is the third time he has won this honor.

The strike of the C.I.O. stock handlers at the Chicago Stockyards continues. All shipments have been stopped and no quotations are sent from the yards.

NOVEMBER 29

The grand champion beef steer award at the International Live Stock Exposition goes to Irene Brown, a fourteen-year old girl from Aledo, Illinois. Her Angus calf, twenty-one months old, brings her the \$800 prize.

DECEMBER 2

Illinois College celebrates the one-hundred and tenth anniversary of its founding with a special program.

DECEMBER 3

In the International Live Stock Exposition, closing today, Illinois ranks first for the third successive year with 61 championships and 164 awards of first place. Irene Brown sells her grand champion steer for \$3.35 per pound, bringing her a total of \$3,785 in addition to the \$800 prize.

DECEMBER 4

The strike which has been in effect at the Chicago Union Stockyards for the last two weeks is ended. The company recognizes the packing house workers' organizing committee as the sole bargaining agent and agrees to continue negotiations on wages, hours, and working conditions.

DECEMBER 5

Joseph M. ("Uncle Joe") Page dies at the age of ninety-three at his home in Jerseyville. He had edited and published the *Jerseyville Democrat* for fifty-eight years.

DECEMBER 6

Walter Nesbit, congressman-at-large from Illinois in 1932-1934, dies at his home in Belleville. He was sixty years old.

George Anderson Cooke dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-nine. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1902-1904 and 1905-1906, and judge of the Illinois Supreme Court in 1909-1918. He served as Chief Justice of this court in 1913-1914.

DECEMBER 9

James W. Garner, head of the Political Science Department of the University of Illinois, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He was known throughout the world as an outstanding authority on the subject of international law.

State Fire Marshal Sherman V. Coultas, of Jacksonville, dies from gunshot wounds following a hunting accident. He was thirty-eight years old.

DECEMBER 10

Death claims William J. Chalmers at the age of eighty-six. He was one of the founders of the Chicago machine shop which was later expanded into the Allis-Chalmers Company of Milwaukee.

William Baker Day dies at his home in Oak Park at the age of sixty-seven. He had been Dean of the University of Illinois College of Pharmacy since 1919.

DECEMBER 17

Ground is broken for Chicago's \$40,000,000 subway system. Mayor Kelly turns the first spadeful of earth near the intersection of Chicago Avenue and State Street. The Public Works Administration is to furnish forty-five per cent of the funds necessary for the project.

DECEMBER 20

Edward H. Cameron, professor of education and director of the summer session at the University of Illinois, dies at the age of sixty-three.

DECEMBER 25

Harry R. Kurrie, president of the Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railroad—the Monon Route—dies at his home in Chicago. He was sixty-three years old.

DECEMBER 27

Twenty-two deaths in Illinois are directly attributed to the holiday week-end just ended.

DECEMBER 28

William H. Bentley, member of the Illinois legislature from 1914 to 1916 and 1918 to 1920, dies at his home in Pontiac. He was eighty-five years old.

DECEMBER 31

A survey of crop yields in Illinois for the year 1938 gives the following figures: the total production of all grains was 19 per cent higher than the ten-year average from 1927 to 1936; the hay and forage production was 25 per cent higher than the yield for that period; and the amount of soybeans and cowpea grains produced was more than three times as large as that for the ten-year average. Soybeans made the highest yield on record with an average of 23.5 bushels per acre. The corn average of 45 bushels per acre was second only to the 1937 record.

The Illinois Division of Architecture and Engineering announces that thirty-seven major building developments were completed in Illinois in 1938. Though the total cost of these projects was \$6,558,000, they cost the state less than four million dollars because forty-five per cent of the expense was borne by the Public Works Administration.

Contracts awarded by the Illinois Division of Highways during 1938 total \$19,518,770.34. This includes both state and federal aid funds.

The total yield of Illinois oil wells in 1938 has been 23,500,000 barrels. This amount is over sixteen million barrels more than was produced in 1937. There are now 2,208 active producing wells in the state.

HISTORICAL NOTES

EXERCISE IN HISTORICAL CRITICISM

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
January 5, 1939

Mr. Paul M. Angle, Secretary
Illinois State Historical Society
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR MR. ANGLE:

I have been intending for a long time to write you a word of appreciation of the excellent task you have done in modernizing the *Journal*. In its present form, it is easily one of the most attractive of the numerous historical publications which come to our library.

Having disposed of the foregoing, I would like to register my demurrer to the treatment accorded Buffalo Bill in the December number of the *Journal*. The article is interesting, but I am confident it goes altogether too far in the direction of debunking its hero. One may readily grant that as a consummate showman Buffalo Bill (or his press agents) sometimes said and did things which are properly subject to historical examination and criticism. This is, however, far from taking away his character altogether, which Mr. Monaghan seems disposed to do. With particular reference to the account of the fight with Chief Yellow Hand (pp. 420-21), I should like to direct your attention to the testimony of Gen. Charles King. Gen. King was a veteran of plains and southwestern warfare and few persons alive were better gifted than he in the matter of expressing their thoughts and opinions. He was an eye witness of and in a certain sense a participant in the fight with Chief Yellow Hand, and in his book *Campaigning with Crook*. . . , whose contents were first published in a Milwaukee newspaper in 1880, he tells the story of the affair in quite different fashion than Mr. Monaghan relates it. (See pp. 37-38 of *Campaigning with Crook and Stories of Army Life*, N. Y., 1905). On p. 112 he sums up his estimate of Buffalo Bill's services throughout the campaign in a paragraph which I copy as follows:

"Of his services during the campaign that followed, a dozen articles might be written. One of his best plays is founded on the incidents of our fight of the 17th of July with the Cheyenne Indians, on the War Bonnet, for it was there he killed the warrior Yellow

Hand, in as plucky a single combat on both sides as is ever witnessed. The Fifth had a genuine affection for Bill; he was a tried and true comrade—one who for cool daring and judgment had no superior. He was a beautiful horseman, an unrivalled shot, and as a scout unequalled. We had tried them all—Hualpais and Tontos in Arizona; half-breeds on the great plains. We had followed Custer's old guide, 'California Joe,' in Dakota; met handsome Bill Hickox (Wild Bill) in the Black Hills; trailed for weeks after Crook's favorite, Frank Guard, all over the Big Horn and Powder River country; hunted Nez Perces with Cosgrove and his Shoshones among the Yellowstone mountains, and listened to 'Captain Jack' Crawford's yarns and rhymes in many a bivouac in the Northwest. They were all noted men in their way, but Bill Cody was the paragon."

It seems to me there is room for but one of two alternatives. Either Mr. Monaghan's belittlement of Buffalo Bill's scouting service is largely unjustified, or else General King was a consummate ignoramus and liar. No one who ever knew him during his long and honorable career (I count it a rare privilege to have been one of the number) would think of conceding the latter.

Sincerely yours,
M. M. QUAIFF

1455 EAST 54TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
January 11, 1939

Mr. Paul M. Angle, Librarian
Illinois State Historical Library
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR MR. ANGLE:

In reply to your letter from Mr. Quaife I regret that he considers my article unjust to the scouting service of Buffalo Bill. I did not intend to pass judgment on Cody's scouting qualities, or even discuss them. I was writing about his stage career. But, as the Yellow Hand affair of '76 interrupted his theatrical performances I was obliged to refer to it in passing. I do not want to question the eye witness account of good old General King, referred to in Mr. Quaife's letter, and I printed a version of it. On the other hand, historical justice demands a reference to other survivors' accounts which do not agree. General King, an Indian fighter, was also a prolific writer, publishing over thirty Indian stories and novels about the West, such as *Laramie, or the Queen of Bedlam*, *Starlight Ranch and Other Stories*, *A Trooper Galahad*, *Kitty's Conquest*, etc. I think that Mr. Quaife will agree that some of King's stories about

Buffalo Bill are not historically accurate. Perhaps his story about the killing of Yellow Hand is,—perhaps not. It is published in a little volume, *Campaigning with Crook*, among other stories entitled "Captain Santa Claus," "The Mystery of 'Mahbin Mill,'" "Plodder's Promotion."

When Richard Walsh published *The Making of Buffalo Bill* in 1928 he received a number of letters from surviving cavalymen which did not agree at all on the killing of Yellow Hand. According to these correspondents, three survivors agreed that Cody killed the Cheyenne, four agreed that he did not. Certainly this is sufficient evidence to open the King version to question.

Some very interesting research on the exploits of Buffalo Bill, entitled *Western Stories*, has been published privately by Herbert Cody Blake. This pamphlet contains a letter from Charles J. Millar, a cavalryman claiming to have been present during the fight, which says:

"Cody was armed same as the rest of us with the .45 Carbine. I saw him pretty much all of the time. The story of Cody's riding out in front, with us backing his play and the Cheyennes 'keeping case' for the Injun while they pulled off a duel, is all made up; IT'S BUNK. All I do know to be true is, that the next day Cody had two scalps which he got after the show was over. I was told some of the men found a dead buck who was a chief, and he was good and dead, being out in the sun for a couple of days, and that Cody got his hair. . . ."

The following affidavit from Norman M. Kelly, a former scout, was procured and published in the pamphlet by Mr. Blake:

"To whom it may concern:

"The following account of the killing of the Cheyenne Chief Yellow Hand was told me by 'Buckskin Jack' Russell and 'Big Bat' Pourier in my Pool Hall at Scenic, South Dakota, over fourteen years ago. . . . Something was said about Buffalo Bill in a conversation and I asked 'Big Bat' what kind of a scout was Buffalo Bill? He knew Bill well, and had been on several scouts with him.

"He said, 'Bill was a good scout and a good guide, but as to a lot of his fighting and Indian killing he didn't do it.' Those were his exact words. . . . 'Little Bat' Garnier is the man who killed Yellow Hand.'

"'Buckskin Jack' and 'Big Bat,' 'Little Bat,' and a man named Tate, were on a hunt with a bunch of mixed blood Indians (half-breeds) and at the time were married to Indian women. They went to look for their horses and were 'jumped' by Yellow Hand and a few other Cheyennes, and shot it out with them. . . . Yellow Hand was killed by Little Bat, and the breeds hearing the firing came rushing up, and the Cheyennes pulled out leaving Yellow Hand on the ground. Jack and Bat both being whites did not raise the Chey-

enne's hair. Some of the breeds knew Yellow Hand and told the scouts who he was. 'So,' Bat said, 'I can't understand how Buffalo Willie could kill Yellow Hand on the day the soldiers came in, when Little Bat killed him the day before. . . .'"

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of March, 1927.

"D. A. Myers, Notary Public, Lankershim, California."

Copies of these documents may be found on pp. 52-55 of *The Literary Digest*, August 17, 1929. I do not claim that they prove an historic fact. In my article I said, "Fifty years later, survivors of the fight *declared* that Yellow Hand was murdered by a squaw man" etc. Am I right? As for the story about the scalp: unless the existing documents are fraudulent, there are sufficient accounts by men qualified to know, who were not in collusion, to make that as near a proven fact as many things in history.

Very truly yours,

J. MONAGHAN

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
January 19, 1939

Mr. Paul M. Angle, Secretary
Illinois State Historical Society
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR MR. ANGLE:

The question I have raised concerning Mr. Monaghan's article is perfectly simple: whether Buffalo Bill was a brave man and a skilful Indian scout, or the reverse. Mr. Monaghan advances the latter view, and from it I have ventured to enter my dissent.

The reasonable limits of this communication do not permit a detailed discussion of all the arguments advanced, and the supporting evidence cited, in Mr. Monaghan's reply to my former letter; consequently I am compelled to summarize, and to ignore specific notice of some of the statements made by him. However, I think simple adherence to correct historical procedure serves readily to determine the issue that has been raised. In support of Buffalo Bill's integrity as a man and ability as a scout we have the clear-cut testimony of such men as General Sheridan, General Miles and General King, all of whom knew him intimately, who were men of known character and keen intelligence, and who spoke and acted under a sense of heavy official responsibility.¹ Opposed to their uniform

¹ General King's testimony I have cited in my former letter. General N. A. Miles characterized Cody as "a prince" among "the most noted scouts and guides in the

chorus of praise, Mr. Monaghan musters the octogenarian tales and pool-room gossip of actual or pretended "scouts" and soldiers, related more than half a century after the events under discussion. Which group of testimony shall we prefer to believe? The question answers itself.

I now notice more specifically certain of the propositions advanced in Mr. Monaghan's letter of January 11, 1939:

1. "Good old General King" in addition to being a maker and writer of history, wrote also historical fiction, some of which his publishers placed in the same volume with his *Campaigning with Crook*. Well, what of it? Are we supposed to be unable to distinguish between the Christmas tale of "Captain Santa Claus" and the first-hand narrative of the campaign of 1876, based on day-by-day notes, of the intelligent officer the writer is known to have been? Incidentally, the "good old General" was not yet thirty-two when he served in this campaign and sent to the *New York World* his contemporary account of the Yellow Hand affair; and not yet thirty-six when, less than four years later, he wrote and published his extended narrative of the campaign, which was subsequently re-issued in 1905.

2. If the seven putative cavalymen who in 1928 related to Mr. Walsh their memories of the killing of Yellow Hand were twenty-one years of age when the battle occurred (1876), they must all have attained the ripe age of seventy-three when they reported it. The frailty of human memory, when exercised over a half a century of time, is known to all observing men. Since we know nothing about Mr. Walsh's witnesses, we have no way of knowing whether they were soldiers at all, or whether they were present on this occasion. Granting them the benefit of the doubt, three of the seven "cavalrymen" squarely contradict the remaining four; and the only thing their testimony discloses is the utter worthlessness of all of it, in so far as it attempts to establish who killed Yellow Hand.

3. The testimony of Charles J. Millar concerning the supposed individual duel between Cody and Yellow Hand does not conflict in any way with General King's account, which contains none of the statements Millar characterizes as "BUNK." His testimony as to how Cody obtained the scalps is admittedly based on second-hand and anonymous gossip.

4. Norman M. Kelly's affidavit is a recital, fifty-one years after the event, of a pool-hall conversation which is said to have taken place "over fourteen" years before. We know nothing of the char-

western country." *Serving the Republic* (New York, 1901), 145. General Sheridan, whose admiration was aroused by Cody's service of riding 350 miles through hostile country in less than sixty hours, found him a "courageous and valuable scout," and made him chief of scouts of the Fifth Regiment. *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1888), Vol. II: 299-301.

acter or qualifications of this particular witness, or of Mr. Kelly's ability to understand and to report correctly, after "over fourteen" years, the tenor of his testimony. But General Sheridan has given us a clear indication of the value of such bar room gossip in the passage we have cited above. "Hays City," he tells us, "was filled with so-called 'Indian Scouts,' whose common boast was of having slain scores of red-skins, but the real scout. . . was very scarce. . . . Still, . . . we managed to employ several men, who, from their experience on the Plains. . . soon became excellent guides and courageous and valuable scouts, some of them, indeed, gaining much distinction. *Mr. William F. Cody . . . was one of the men thus selected.*" [Italics by present writer].

In conclusion, the heart of the historical investigator's task is the evaluation of the evidence, of varying degrees of value, and frequently discordant or contradictory, he may gather. Like St. Paul he must "prove" it all, holding fast only to that which is true. Mr. Monaghan's letter does not convince me of the correctness of his historical procedure, either in the letter itself or in the article he has published. I think the testimony of Sheridan and Miles and King to the courage and scouting skill of Buffalo Bill outweighs all of the old-age gossip to which Mr. Monaghan adheres.

Sincerely yours,
M. M. QUAIFE

1455 EAST 54TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
February 3, 1939

Mr. Paul Angle, Secretary
Illinois State Historical Society
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR MR. ANGLE:

Mr. Quaife and I are really very much in agreement on this entire subject. The main thing on which we seem to differ is the method of presentation. Mr. Quaife wants me to undertake the difficult task of evaluating the character of Buffalo Bill, and I prefer to quote what his contemporaries said, both good and bad, and let it go at that. I agree with Mr. Quaife on what was said by the good old generals, and he agrees with me as to what was said by the bad old common soldiers and Indian traders. In social history I think it is important to know what the common men said, as well as what was said by the great men. It is also important to remember that the generals were writing for readers in a glamorous age, and the common men were talking in a disillusioned age of inquiry; "fifty years later," as I say in the text.

Mr. Quaife is inclined to discredit the testimony of octogenarians, and he putatively fixes the age of the old cavalrymen at seventy-three. If this be so, the only octogenarian evidence so far presented, comes from Mr. Quaife's witness, General Charles King, who was eighty-four when he contributed to the *New York World* his article purporting to be the real account of the killing of Yellow Hand. I grant Mr. Quaife's right to question the veracity of any man, but surely I misunderstand him in the second paragraph of his last letter when he questions that such well known frontier characters as Ba'tiste Pourier, Buckskin Jack Russell and the "man named Tate" were, perhaps, only "pretended scouts."

Now as to the specific points raised:

1. Mr. Quaife admits that the volume which he used for his prime source contains historical fiction like "Captain Santa Claus" etc. After re-reading the account of the killing of Yellow Hand in this volume, I must admit I find difficulty in distinguishing between what is admitted to be fiction and what is purported to be history. The account has all the ear-marks of a wild west juvenile and does not read at all like a military report. This impression is strengthened in my mind by the account of the killing of another Indian, Tall Bull, which General King also credits to Buffalo Bill, while Buffalo Bill himself, in an article appearing under his own name in the *New York World*, states that Tall Bull was killed by Lieutenant Hayes. If General King is in error in the second instance, isn't his statement in the previous instance open to question?

2. On the second point I agree with Mr. Quaife that the conflicting testimony of the old timers does not establish who killed Yellow Hand. This is precisely my contention, and the reason why it seemed preferable to resort to the quotation method of narrative instead of committing myself.

3. The testimony of Charles J. Millar and Norman M. Kelly concerns the incident of the scalps. Considered separately, each account might be a fabrication, but when two or more men not in collusion, say substantially the same thing the evidence becomes exceedingly interesting, and I use it with the guarded qualification that the story is "open to question."

In conclusion, it seems to me that Mr. Quaife is the one who must "prove" his facts. I have not attempted to establish facts, but to repeat instead what people have said, giving examples of the intricate and contradictory evidence on both sides of the fence. I grant that this method of selecting quotations may color the picture presented, but it is the natural coloration of the scene as it appeared to some contemporaries. I recoil from evaluating any man's character. For instance, General Miles was called a "peacock," a "looking glass soldier," by some of his own men. John Bach McMaster, the historian, characterized General Sheridan as a

"little, foul-mouthed Irishman." These evaluations come from contemporaries qualified to know. Others evaluate the generals differently. Are not such quotations valid historical material? My personal opinion does not matter.

Yours very truly,
J. MONAGHAN

A COLLEGE PRESIDENT'S NOTES ON LINCOLN

Shortly after the close of the Civil War, Miami University, located in the straggling village of Oxford, Ohio, elected its sixth president.¹ The appointee, Dr. Robert Livingston Stanton, delivered his inaugural address on June 27, 1867² before a small group of students, faculty, and townsfolk gathered to hear one of the more distinguished clergymen and educators of the nation. Stanton was, indeed, a national figure.

He had been president of Oakland College, in Claiborne County, Mississippi, from 1851 to 1854, had taught theology and homiletics in the Danville Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky, was moderator of the Presbyterian Church, and was the author of a widely read and controversial volume on slavery.³ Little wonder then that the editors of the *Miami Student*, the undergraduate monthly publication, should invite the new president to contribute to their columns.

Dr. Stanton responded to the editor's request by preparing an article entitled, "Reminiscences of President Lincoln." It appeared in the issue of February 12, 1868, and was signed with the initials "R.L.S." "I do not know," wrote Stanton when submitting his manuscript, "that I can render you a better service than to relate certain incidents which occurred during Mr. Lincoln's Presidency, and which came under my personal observation."⁴

Stanton, indeed, had some acquaintance with Lincoln over a period of years. He had been present at Lincoln's first inauguration in 1861 and had made careful notes of the scene. He said:

¹ See W. L. Tobey and W. O. Thompson, *The Diamond Anniversary Volume* (Hamilton, Ohio, 1899), 185-91 for an account of Stanton's life and presidency.

² *Addresses Delivered on the Occasion of the Inauguration of Rev. R. L. Stanton, D. D., as President of Miami University*, June 27, 1867 (Oxford, Ohio, 1867), 13-28. Stanton spoke on "The Present Condition and Wants of Miami University."

³ R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion* (New York, 1864).

⁴ Quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from the *Miami Student*, Feb. 12, 1868.

It was amidst such immediate surroundings that Mr. Lincoln took his oath of office . . . and pronounced that bold yet kind Inaugural; bold in declaring that he should use all the power at his command to maintain the nation in its integrity, yet kind in its counsel to our erring countryman of the South.

When Lincoln reviewed the Grand Army of the Potomac, in November, 1861, Stanton was close at hand to witness the impressive array of troops. He declared that the "bright brass cannon, the polished steel of the musket and sabre, the national and regimental flags, with the gilding of the new uniforms, glistened brilliantly in the clear light of a November sun." The President, continued Stanton, was clad in plain citizens' dress and rode a "superb charger;" his tall figure towered above all others, and "his usually cheerful countenance wore a tinge of sadness. . . ."

In addition to seeing Lincoln at a distance, Dr. Stanton twice was granted personal interviews with Lincoln at the White House, and also was present when, three days before the Baltimore Convention of 1864, the Honorable Jesse L. Williams of Indiana and E. P. Ferry of Illinois called upon the President.

The article which Stanton wrote for the *Miami Student* recounts, in considerable detail, these personal interviews. In addition, it is interesting in that it offers a university president's impressions of Lincoln, throws some illuminating side lights upon the well-known McPheeters incident, comments upon the President's orthographical awkwardness, and recounts another of Lincoln's humorous stories.

The following selections from Stanton's contribution to the *Miami Student* illustrate these points in detail. Footnotes have been added by the writer. Other explanatory material has been inserted in the text in brackets.

During the latter part of Mr. Lincoln's administration, I had several opportunities of seeing him in his office at the White House. One was in May, 1864. Every private citizen who ever had occasion to seek a personal interview with the President during the progress of the war, knows something of the difficulties attending such an attempt, arising out of the press of public business. Even members of Congress and other officials have been known to wait for hours and then to retire disappointed, while crowds, each with his own "axe to grind," have spent day after day and found themselves no nearer realizing the object of their desire. Calling one morning about 11 o'clock, I found the ante-rooms and passages filled; men and

women, well-dressed and not so well, from all parts of the country, with not a few officials in civil stations and some with shoulder straps and brass buttons, were among the eager multitude. Many had sent their cards or letters, and others were sending them. The messengers, as they returned from the "august presence," looked upon the throng with frowns, and when inquired on concerning the prospect for admission, answered with an ominous shake of the head. My card could go in with the rest—for this mode of recognition was refused to no one—but anything beyond seemed hopeless. It is not here as in other places, "first come first served," but the President admits whom he pleases. I found that a little "strategy" might be resorted to, and it proved as effective in achieving a victory over great odds in my peaceful campaign as it had often done in war. Mr. Lincoln was looking forward to a nomination for reelection at the Convention to meet at Baltimore in June. I was then living in Kentucky, and had received in Washington, only a day or two before, a letter from a distinguished citizen of that state, giving his views of the prospects of the approaching political campaign there. The writer of that letter afterwards became the presiding officer of the organization of the Baltimore Convention where Mr. Lincoln was nominated for his second term. My strategy was nothing more than sending in my card, with this endorsement: "With a letter from——, on the political situation in Kentucky."⁵ In a few minutes the messenger returned and called for me, while the multitude wondered what it could be in my missive which proved so instantly successful. As I entered, a delegation from Arkansas was just retiring. When they had gone out, the President welcomed me in a most cordial manner. He read the letter with great eagerness, the first, he assured me, that he had ever seen from the writer, and whom, at that time, he had never met though well known to him by reputation. He then conversed with great interest on the state of things in Kentucky, saying that its course as a state had often embarrassed and puzzled him; but he promised that the suggestions made in the letter should be remembered and complied with as far as possible. During the interview, the President's manner was that of a kind friend, genial and familiar, with nothing of official stiffness or reserve. No other person was in the room at the time. I had been in the President's office but once before. This was with Mr. [Joseph H.] Barrett, the Commissioner of Pensions. We had called and had waited several hours, and finally retired without admission. But the second time we were successful. As the Commissioner was a warm, personal friend of the President, he sat and conversed with us for nearly an hour, with the same unreserve,

⁵ Stanton used the name of the Reverend Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who later was to be temporary chairman of the Baltimore Convention. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson (New York, 1929), III: 10-11.

cheerfulness, and quiet dignity, which might have been expected of him at the domestic fireside. It is the opinion of all who had access to Mr. Lincoln's more private thoughts and feelings, that his social qualities were of a high order.

On another occasion, a short time afterwards, having some business to transact with a member of the Cabinet and wishing to get the influence of the President to aid me, I called alone and was received as before. As I am writing for the *Student*, and as what I write is for the students of the University, it may perhaps encourage some whose orthography needs improvement—or, possibly, it may so far console them as to render them less discontented with their delinquencies than would be wise—to know that not only doth old Homer sometimes nod, but that even a President of the United States is not necessarily perfect in his knowledge of spelling. The great beauty, however, of the incident I am about to relate, is, that it reveals the remarkable simplicity of Mr. Lincoln's character, and shows the openheartedness of the man—qualities in him that were not marred by official station, but shone all the more brightly in consequence of it; while more than all, it exhibits the true path to knowledge, which every student should note, viz.: a willingness to admit one's ignorance rather than make a foolish attempt to conceal it. The President, on this occasion, gave me a specimen of his errors and orthography. After conversing with him upon the business in hand, and getting his views fully, I asked him if he would speak to the Secretary in my behalf. He replied affirmatively; "But," said he after pausing a moment, "I will do what is better—I will write him a note, and you can take it to him, and I think you will have no difficulty in the matter." He took from his drawer paper and an envelope and began to write. In a few moments, without any preface, or premonition of what was coming, stopping his writing and looking earnestly at me over his spectacles, he said, "Ob-sta-ble—is that the way you spell obstacle?"⁶ I replied: "That is right, Mr. President I believe"—being not a little non-plussed at the suddenness of the sally, and the abruptness of mode in which the question was put, and indeed that it was put at all. Discerning, perhaps, what was working within me, he smiled blandly, laid down his pen, and said: "I am in doubt, when writing, to know how to spell some of the most common words, without stopping to think." On my remarking that it was quite a common thing to be thus occasionally troubled, he said: "I found out, about twenty years ago, that I had been spelling one word wrong all my life up to that time." "What word is that?" I inquired. "It is the word *very*," said he; "I had always written it *ver-ry*, but after that I cor-

⁶ The note here referred to was undoubtedly addressed to the Secretary of War and asked that Stanton be given permission to visit West Point. See Paul M. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (New York, 1930), 350 for the complete text.

rected it. Then there was another word," he continued, "which I never knew I had been spelling wrong, all the time, until I came here; but I found it out after I came to the White House." I inquired what word it was, and he said: "Opportunity; I had always written it with an *e*—opportunity." Then, after a hearty laugh, he finished his note to the Secretary, and handing it to me, said: "That is much better than for me to speak to him, and I think it will 'put you through,' right." And with a warm grasp of the hand he bade me "Good morning." . . . One other incident will close this narration. That Mr. Lincoln was fond of anecdotes, and frequently told them "to point a moral or adorn a tale," is generally conceded. Many are perhaps attributed to him which he never uttered. I can vouch for one, the only one I ever heard him relate. It was in June, 1864, three days before the meeting of the Baltimore Convention. Hon. Jesse L. Williams, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, invited me to call with him on the President. He was a personal friend of the President, had been a member of the Chicago Convention when Mr. Lincoln was first nominated, and was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention. Mr. [E. P.] Ferry, of Illinois, another delegate, was in the President's room with us, and another gentleman who was a stranger.⁷ In the course of a very pleasant conversation of half an hour or more, in which the war, politics, and other subjects were introduced, Judge Williams, who had just come from the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened at Newark, N. J., said to the President that he had witnessed "a rather singular scene" in that Assembly, "in which the President was singularly mixed up." From the expression on the Judge's countenance, it was evident that the scene was somewhat amusing. "Ah—what was it?" inquired the President. "A trial was going on in the Assembly," said the Judge, "and a certain letter of yours was read in evidence, and the curious thing about it was that each party, reading certain portions of the letter claimed that the President was on their side." "That *was* queer," said the President; "But what letter was that?" "Your letter to General [Samuel] Curtis." The case on trial was that of Rev. Dr. [Samuel B.] McPheeters, of St. Louis, who had been sent out of the State of Missouri by order of General Curtis, for alleged disloyalty. Mr. Lincoln had written to the General the famous letter in which he said "the Government must not attempt to run the churches."⁸ Dr. McPheeters' case⁹ brought out the President's

⁷ "During a few days preceding the Convention a great many delegates took the road to Washington, either to get some intimation of the President's wishes or to impress their own faces and names on his expectant mind." John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (New York, 1890), IX: 62.

⁸ See *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay (New York, 1894), VIII: 168-69 for complete text of the letter.

⁹ See Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, VI: 335-37 for a discussion of the case.

letter in the Assembly. After the Judge had set forth more fully the double use made of the letter by the opposing parties in the trial, Mr. Lincoln laughed heartily, and then throwing himself back in his chair, said: "That reminds me of an old farmer out in Illinois, who was in the woods with his son, hunting a sow that was lost. They hunted a long time in vain; they could see tracks and roots, but not the animal. At length they came to a small stream where they found tracks on each side. 'John,' said the father, 'you go up on that side of the branch and I'll go up on this side, for I'm sure we'll find the old sow on both sides.' " When the merriment which followed this sally had subsided, Mr. Lincoln showed the exceeding kindness of his heart in what he said of Dr. McPheeters and the difficulties in which he had been involved. He said he could not so well judge of the merits of such cases as those upon the ground. He had laid down general principles in his letter to General Curtis, and the immediate responsibility was in his hands. . . .

PHILIP D. JORDAN

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, OHIO.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG, NOVEMBER 19, 1863

In the morning I got a beast and rode out with the President and suite to the Cemetery in the procession. The procession formed itself in an orphanly sort of way, and moved out with very little help from anybody; and after a little delay Mr. E[verett] took his place on the stand,—and Mr. S[tockton] made a prayer which thought it was an oration—and Mr. E[verett] spoke as he always does, perfectly; and the President, in a firm, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half-dozen lines of consecration,—and the music wailed, and we went home through crowded and cheering streets. And all the particulars are in the daily papers.

JOHN HAY, *Letters and Diaries*, I: 124-25.

A LINCOLN ANECDOTE

After Mr. Lincoln had sent the name of Rev. Mr. Shrigley to the Senate for confirmation, as hospital chaplain in the army, a self-constituted committee of the Young Men's Christian Association called on him to protest against the appointment. After Mr. S's. name had been mentioned, the President said: "O, yes, I have sent it to the Senate. His testimonials are highly satisfactory, and the appointment will no doubt be confirmed at an early day." The young men replied: "But, sir, we have come not to ask for the appointment, but to solicit you to withdraw the nomination, on the grounds that Mr. S. is not evangelical in his sentiments." "Ah!" said the President, "That alters the case. On what point of doctrine is the gentleman unsound?" "He does not believe in endless punishment," was the reply. "Yes," added another of the committee, "he believes that even the rebels themselves will finally be saved; and it will never do to have a man with such views Hospital Chaplain."

The President hesitated to reply for a moment, and then responded with an emphasis they will long remember: "If that be so, gentlemen, and there be any way under heaven whereby the rebels can be saved, then, for God's sake, let the man be appointed."

He was appointed.

Belleville Advocate, Nov. 15, 1867.

A PRESIDENT IN HIS SHIRT

A little after midnight, as I was writing those last lines, the President came into the office laughing, with a volume of Hood's Works in his hand, to show N[icolay] and me the little caricature, "An unfortunate Bee-ing," seemingly utterly unconscious that he, with his short shirt hanging about his long legs, and setting out behind like the tail feathers of an enormous ostrich, was infinitely funnier than anything in the book he was laughing at. What a man it is! Occupied all day with matters of vast moment, deeply anxious about the fate of the greatest army of the world, with his own fame and future hanging on the events of the passing hour, he yet has such a wealth of simple *bonhomie* and goodfellowship, that he gets out of bed and perambulates the house in his shirt to find us that we may share with him the fun of poor Hood's queer little conceits.

JOHN HAY, *Letters and Diaries*, I: 190-91.

THE INDIAN UNROMANTICIZED

At Cascaskias, an Illinois village,
otherwise called "the Immaculate
Conception of the blessed Virgin;"
November 9, 1712

Nothing is more difficult than the conversion of these Savages; it is a miracle of the Lord's mercy: we must first make men of them, and afterward work to make them Christians. As they are absolute masters of themselves without being subjected to any Law, the independence in which they live enslaves them to the most brutal passions. It is true, there are Chiefs among them, but the Chiefs have no authority; if they should use threats, far from making themselves feared, they would see themselves abandoned by the very men who had chosen them for Chiefs. They gain consideration and respect only while they have, as is said here, wherewith to fill the kettle,—that is to say, wherewith to make feasts for those who are obedient to them.

From this independence springs every sort of vice that rules them. They are indolent, traitorous, fickle, and inconstant; deceitful, and naturally thievish,—so much so, as to boast of their skill in stealing; brutal, and without honor; taciturn; capable of doing

everything when you are liberal toward them, but at the same time thankless and ungrateful. To do them any good gratuitously is only to uphold them in their natural pride; they become thereby more insolent; they say, "I am feared; I am sought." Thus, however desirous we may be to give them pleasure, we are compelled to make them value the little services that we render them.

Gluttony and the love of pleasure are, above all, the vices most dominant among our Savages; they are habituated to the most indecent acts before they are even old enough to know all the shame that is connected with them. If you add to this the wandering life that they lead in the forests in pursuit of wild beasts, you will easily admit that reason must be greatly brutalized in these people; and that it is very little inclined to submit itself to the yoke of the Gospel.

Father Gabriel Marest in
Jesuit Relations, LXVI: 219-23.

STATE ARCHIVES, 1820

[On October 28, 1938, the new State Archives Building, costing \$500,000, was dedicated—*Editor*.]

At the session of 1819, five commissioners were appointed to select the land granted by Congress, and they selected the old hunter's home, "Reav's Bluff."

It proved to be a most beautiful spot, a heavily wooded tract, covered by gigantic trees, under whose shades the former lords of the soil might have held grave council. A town was laid out with a handsome public square and broad streets, and christened "Vandalia," but these vandals did not suffer one of those forest Kings to remain on the square, but cut them down to the ground, leaving not one to sigh in the summer wind or bend to the blast.

Lots were sold at public auction, on credit, at fabulous prices, few of which were paid for in full. The enterprising and scheming came to it, some from the old world, and soon the nucleus of a town was formed. Measures were inaugurated for the erection of a State House, which culminated in a plain two story frame building, of rude architecture, set upon a rough stone foundation, and placed in the center of the square, the lower floor of which was devoted to a passage and stairway to the upper story, and a large plain room

devoid of ornament; the upper floor was divided into two rooms, the largest for the accommodation of the Senate, and a smaller one for the office of the Secretary of State, the Auditor and Treasurer occupying detached buildings, hired for that purpose.

No ceremonies were observed in laying the corner stone of this unsightly structure; no music disturbed the solitude of the forest, then in its primeval beauty; no crowd in pride of pageantry lent excitement to the scene; no sound was heard save the rap of the mason's hammer and the sharp click of his trowel.

These preparations being made, the archives of the State were removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, and it was my fortune, being the Clerk of the then Secretary of the State, Mr. Kane, to remove his office, which I did in a small road-wagon, early in the month of December, 1820, encountering in my route great difficulties, and as there was no wagon road, the driver and myself had to cut a way through the woods at several points; I opened the office in this little room in the second story of the State House, the whole of the rest of the building being then occupied by the family of the Auditor, with whom I was a boarder. During the entire session of the Legislature, which commenced the first Monday of the following November, I kept the office in this room, the Auditor removing his family to a small cabin on the outskirts of the town.

Sidney Breese, quoted in JOHN DEAN CATON, *Address on the Occasion of the Laying the Corner-Stone of the New State House*, 10.

CONTEMPT OF COURT

At one of these early terms of court [in Springfield], while Judge Sawyer was presiding, a Mr. Mendell was one of the attorneys. It happened one day that, by some slight act, he offended against the law of decorum, as the Judge understood them. His honor, in pompous dignity, at once ordered him under arrest, and actually sent him to jail for a few hours' confinement. Such proceedings in the new community excited surprise among spectators, and wrath in the heart of Mendell. Next morning he had his revenge. As the people gathered about the old log court house, they saw a lusty calf on the platform usually occupied by the judge; a flock of geese were penned up in the place where the jury had been wont to be, and there stood Mr. Mendell in the bar, in oratorical attitude, bow-

ing now to the calf and now to the geese, as he began, "May it please the court, and you, gentlemen of the jury."

JOHN C. W. BAILEY, *Sangamon County Gazetteer* . . . *City Directories of Springfield and Jacksonville* (Springfield, 1866), 27.

POLITICAL INVECTIVE, 1834

Who is this "Agricola?" Some *puling*, sentimental, *he* old maid! whose cold liver and pulseless heart, never felt a desire which could be tempted, except for getting money, for fawning on the great and feasting his malice on slander and detraction, who fawns, flutters, lies and cheats, and

"Compounds for sins he is inclin'd to

By damning those he has no mind to"—

Some spindle-shanked toad-eating, man-granny, who feeds the depraved appetites of his patrons with gossip and slander.

William L. May in *Sangamo Journal*, July 26, 1834.

MOUNT JOLIET, A VANISHED LANDMARK

The great object of our expedition, Mount Joliet, was two miles distant from this place [Joliet]. We had to visit it, and perform the journey back to Chicago, forty miles, before night. The mount is only sixty feet high; yet it commands a view which I shall not attempt to describe, either in its vastness, or its soft beauty. The very spirit of tranquillity resides in this paradys scene. The next painter who would worthily illustrate Milton's Morning Hymn, should come and paint what he sees from Mount Joliet, on a dewy summer's morning, when a few light clouds are gently sailing in the sky, and their shadows traversing the prairie. I thought I had never seen green levels till now; and only among mountains had I before known the beauty of wandering showers. Mount Joliet has the appearance of being an artificial mound, its sides are so uniformly steep, and its form so regular. Its declivity was bristling with flowers; among which were conspicuous the scarlet lily, the white convolvulus, and a tall, red flower of the scabia form. We disturbed a night-hawk, sitting on her eggs, on the ground. She wheeled round and round over our heads, and, I hope, returned to her eggs before they were cold.

Not far from the mount was a log-house, where the rest of the party went in to dry their feet, after having stood long in the wet grass. I remained outside, watching the light showers, shifting in the partial sunlight from clump to level, and from reach to reach of the brimming and winding river. The nine miles of prairie, which we had traversed in dim moonlight last night, were now exquisitely beautiful, as the sun shone fitfully upon them.

HARRIET MARTINEAU, *Society in America* (1837), I: 361-62.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Early in 1683 Father Louis Hennepin, the Recollect missionary who had accompanied LaSalle to the Illinois Country in 1680, published his *Description de la Louisiane* at Paris. Not only because it was the first printed description of the Upper Mississippi, but also because it was a stirring account of hardship and adventure, the book was immediately popular. In less than ten years, three French editions, two German, one Dutch and one Italian editions appeared. Not until 1880, however, was the whole work translated into English. Moreover, the English edition (by John Gilmory Shea) was never altogether satisfactory, and is now difficult to obtain.

These considerations led the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America to sponsor a new edition of Hennepin's famous work.¹ The translation by Marion E. Cross is wisely suited to the needs of the modern reader. While the factual content has been carefully preserved, the text has been divided into paragraphs, the author's most cumbersome sentences have been broken up, and unfamiliar place names and tribal designations have been changed to their current forms. The result is a travel-adventure narrative of general interest. It is also a book of basic importance in Illinois history.



The publication of a new edition of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* gives especial interest to a long article entitled "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, 1680," in *Mid-America* for January, 1939. The author, Jean Delanglez of the Loyola University faculty, makes a detailed analysis of Hennepin's claim, advanced in his *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*, that he, rather than LaSalle, first descended the Mississippi to its mouth. Professor Delanglez' able and thorough refutation of Hennepin's story should settle this vexing question for all time.

¹ *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, translated by Marion E. Cross. University of Minnesota Press, \$3.50.

Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis is the title of a handsome volume by John Francis McDermott recently published by the Johns Hopkins Press for the Institut Français de Washington. In the main body of the book Mr. McDermott lists the contents of the private libraries of all persons living in St. Louis before the transfer to the United States in 1804. He concludes that these libraries aggregated between 2,000 and 3,000 volumes, although the descriptions of the books in the original inventories are so imperfect that he was unable to identify 1,200 volumes.

Part I of Mr. McDermott's volume, entitled "Cultural Conditions on the Confines of a Wilderness," is a spirited argument for the revision of the prevailing low estimate of cultural conditions in St. Louis prior to the transfer to the United States. The author contends that most secondary writers have carelessly accepted the strictures of travelers who were themselves superficial. He admits the existence of a high percentage of illiteracy, the absence of a printing press and other common appurtenances of civilized society, but contends that no community containing individuals owning the books that leading St. Louisans possessed can be described as intellectually barren.



Another recent volume in the series of *Historical Documents* published by the Institut Français de Washington is devoted to a man who has hitherto been little more than an obscure name in Illinois history. *Barthelemy Tardiveau: A French Trader in the West*, by Howard C. Rice,² contains a biographical sketch of the trader and land speculator who acted as agent for residents of the Illinois Country in their efforts to obtain compensation from Congress for the aid they had given George Rogers Clark. Printed also, both in French and English, are a number of letters which Tardiveau wrote to St. John de Crèvecoeur, the author of *Letters from an American Farmer*, in 1788 and 1789.



"Until comparatively recent years," writes Temple Bodley in *Our First Great West*,³ "the attention of historians of the Revolution

² The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, \$2.25.

³ The Filson Club, Louisville, Ky., \$6.00.

was almost exclusively directed to its eastern phase, along the Atlantic seaboard. No less vitally important, however, in winning real American independence and in upbuilding the greatness of the United States, was our long and desperately doubtful struggle . . . for that great western region."

This struggle Mr. Bodley sees in terms of three different but closely related conflicts—the military conflict in which independence was achieved; the diplomatic conflict against Spain, France and Britain in which title to the trans-Allegheny West was secured; and the political conflict against the land companies which resulted in the preservation of the national domain for the individual. To the elaboration of these conflicts this book is devoted.

Since Illinois was a part—often an important part—of the region under consideration, students of Illinois history will welcome *Our First Great West* for its direct contribution as well as its collateral interest.



The American Imprints Inventory, Historical Records Survey, WPA, is responsible for the recent publication of the *Check List of Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints, 1851-1871*. This volume has been compiled under the editorial supervision of Douglas C. McMurtrie, eminent authority on the history of printing, who is serving as Consultant to the National Director of the Historical Records Survey. It constitutes a supplement to Mr. McMurtrie's own check list of Chicago imprints, 1835-1850, which was published in the first four numbers of the *Bulletin* of the Chicago Historical Society, 1934-1935.

The present volume lists and locates by means of Library of Congress symbols 1,880 titles. Even so, it makes no pretense to completeness. "The American Imprints Inventory is committed to the policy of progressive bibliography," Mr. McMurtrie states in his preface. "The bibliographer who holds up the publication of any list until it is complete never publishes it at all, but leaves only unfinished manuscript for his heirs to throw away."

Titles on almost every conceivable subject are included in the present check list. The largest number are credited to the Chicago Historical Society, but nearly a third are not available in any Illinois institution—a fact which alone justifies the compilation and publication of the present work.

To the growing series of local guides compiled by the Federal Writers' Project in Illinois the *Cairo Guide*, an attractive pamphlet of sixty-four pages, must be added. The *Cairo Guide* contains a concise history of the city, a directory and description of places of interest, a chronology, and a bibliography. The *Cairo Guide* is sponsored by the Cairo Public Library.



The latest of the Federal Writers' Project local guides is the *Nauvoo Guide*,⁴ published in January, 1939. Like its predecessors, the *Nauvoo Guide* combines a good sketch of the town's history with descriptions of present-day places of interest. Unlike its predecessors, it utilizes photographs as well as drawings as illustrations. The result is an unusually attractive booklet.

The Mormon occupation, the Icarian experiment, and a unique dependence on grape culture unite to make Nauvoo one of the most interesting communities in Illinois. Appropriately, the *Nauvoo Guide* makes its appearance in the town's centennial year.



In December, 1900, two young printers of Mount Morris, Illinois, the brothers Harvey J. and Harry G. Kable, published a volume of their own authorship: *Mount Morris: Past and Present*. Thirty-eight years later the surviving brother, Harry G. Kable, now the head of a printing establishment employing more than eight hundred people, issued a revised edition of the same book. The occasion was the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Mount Morris.

Mount Morris: Past and Present (Revised Edition) covers every phase of community life—business enterprises, Mount Morris College, social and cultural activities of all kinds. In addition, it contains thousands of concise biographical sketches and hundreds of illustrations. It is difficult to imagine a more comprehensive, more permanently valuable record. The people of Mount Morris, future as well as present, will count themselves fortunate in its possession.

⁴ A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 50 cents.

*Logan Place*⁵ is the title of a charming little book issued to commemorate the passing of one of Springfield's best known landmarks. Built more than a century ago, and occupied for many years by Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of Lincoln's law partners, Logan Place has long been a center of the city's social and cultural life. Numerous projects for city betterment have originated within its walls, and its guests have included scores of men and women of national prominence. Symbolic of its place in the community was the fact that in the end it yielded to a new hospital which is to be built on its site.

Logan Place is the work of Dr. H. T. Morrison, the last occupant of the old home.



Centralia: Your Opportunity is the title of an attractive brochure recently published by the Centralia Chamber of Commerce. The sub-title of the brochure describes it with complete accuracy: "A History of the City from its Foundation by the Illinois Central Railroad in 1853 through its Development as the Industrial and Transportation Center of 'Egypt' to its Development as the Oil Capital of Illinois in 1938." The text is by Aubrey Starke, an occasional contributor to the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. Excellent illustrations enhance the attractiveness of the publication.



An historical, political and industrial map of Illinois⁶ has recently been added to the series of state maps which the Mentholum Company is publishing. Like the others of the series, the Illinois map depicts the history of the state as well as its present-day resources. It also includes a detailed chronology. Prepared by R. T. Aitchison, well-known maker of maps on the history of printing, and beautifully printed in colors, the Illinois map is a distinct addition to the historical literature of the state.

⁵ Privately printed, 1938.

⁶ The Mentholum Company, Wilmington, Del. Single maps, 25 cents; ten maps for \$1.00.

Professor O. L. Nordstrom, instructor in economics at Augustana College, was elected president of the Augustana Historical Society at its annual meeting in Rock Island on November 10, 1938.

The Augustana Historical Society is the only historical organization in the United States dealing with the migration of the Swedish people to America. During the last several years the Society has published an annual volume dealing with some phase of this subject, and is planning to continue this series indefinitely.



In October, 1938, the Aurora Historical Society moved from the public library to the Tanner Mansion at Oak and Cedar Streets, which was recently given to the Society by Mrs. Martha Tanner Thornton of Naperville, Illinois, and Mrs. Mary Tanner Hopkins of Kansas City in honor of their parents. On New Year's Day the Society held open house in its new quarters. Hundreds of visitors viewed the exhibits and renewed friendships and acquaintances. The Society hopes to revive the once-popular custom of greeting friends on New Year's Day.



The annual Illinois Day meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Springfield on December 2, 1938, with Dr. James A. James, the Society's president, presiding. The address of the occasion, delivered by Dr. Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, is published in this issue of the *Journal*. After the meeting an informal reception was held in the Illinois State Historical Library.



A memorial to one of Belvidere's most distinguished citizens, General Stephen Hurlbut, has been proposed by members of the Boone County Historical Society. Fred Marean, president, declares that the proposal has met with general approval and it is hoped that such a memorial can be erected during the coming summer.



The recently organized Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County has begun its career with energy and enthusiasm. On Novem-

ber 21, 1938, the Society heard a historical address by Representative Calvin D. Johnson and participated in a round-table discussion of the advantages of historical societies to the community and the individual. At a dinner meeting on December 19 Charles Peterson, senior landscape architect of the National Park Service, presented an illustrated lecture on the subject, "French and American Towns of the Illinois Country, 1699-1841." The Society is also sponsoring a WPA museum project in which scale models of early Cahokia homes and buildings are being constructed.

At a meeting of the Society held on January 16, five seniors from St. Teresa Academy led a round-table discussion on the "Cultural Significance of Cahokia."



Mrs. Florence E. Richards, honorary president of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society, reports that since its organization in February, 1938, the Society has assembled a collection of more than 500 pictures of early Chicago Lawn, 285 photographic plates taken between 1908 and 1912, 91 slides, and several histories of local schools and churches. In addition, the collection includes 50 pictures of the present-day community. The Society's headquarters are at the Chicago Lawn branch of the public library, at 6234 Kedzie Avenue.



Many pupils of West Side elementary and high schools are participating in the essay contest now being conducted by the West Side Historical Society (Chicago). Two general subjects have been assigned—the history of West Side business institutions for the high school group, and the reasons for the names of at least six West Side streets for entrants from the elementary schools. Prizes—silver cups—are awarded to the school represented by the entrant rather than to the entrant individually. Last year, when only high schools participated, Steinmetz High School was the winner.

When the West Side Historical Society met on January 9, Frank L. Wood spoke on "Way Back When" and Dr. Leila Whitehead recalled the early days in Austin. The following officers were elected at this meeting: Frank L. Wood, president; J. C. Miller, Harlo G.

Grant, Margaret McBride, and Henry Coen, vice-presidents; T. H. Golightly, treasurer; and Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian.



The causes and effects of social blight in Englewood were described by Fred Rathje of the Chicago City Bank at the second annual dinner of the Englewood Historical Society, held on December 6, 1938. Other speakers recalled the history of Englewood and explained the workings of city departments in that area. Members of the staff of the Hiram Kelly branch library appealed to the members of the Society for old pictures of early Englewood, newspapers, and other historical data.



DuPage County's centennial celebration was formally inaugurated on February 9—the one-hundredth anniversary of the enactment of the law creating the county. The next event is scheduled for May 1—the one-hundredth anniversary of the first county election. On this date the schools will elect county "officials" who will meet at the courthouse on Saturday, May 6, for an appropriate program. College Day will be held at Glen Ellyn on May 13. Hinsdale will entertain at a flower show on June 9, 10, and 11. Flag Day (June 14) and the Fourth of July will be appropriately observed; and an Old Settlers' Picnic will be held on July 15. On August 5 a music festival will take place in Wheaton. On August 16 a Centennial Ball and Costume Party, to be held at the Medinah Country Club, is scheduled. The official "centennial week," September 9-16, will be observed with a pageant and historical parade in Naperville, the oldest town in the county.



At the last meeting of the Edgar County Historical Society, held at the public library in Paris on December 3, 1938, Mrs. E. O. Laughlin was re-elected president. Miss Barbara Dennis described a recent trip to Europe.



The Evanston Historical Society celebrated its fortieth anniversary with a dinner meeting on November 21, 1938, attended by

more than two hundred members and guests. The program included an address by Colonel Henry Musham on the Chicago Fire, and talks by President James A. James of the Illinois State Historical Society, President Walter Dill Scott and Professor James T. Hatfield of Northwestern University.

In his annual report President Dwight F. Clark of the Evanston Historical Society outlined a remarkable record of progress. During the year the Society's membership had more than doubled, meetings had been well attended, the museum and library had been completely rehabilitated, a complete file of the *Evanston News-Index* had been secured, a daily newspaper feature ("The Historical Corner") had been furnished to the *News-Index*, and the showing of the Northwest Territory Celebration pageant, "Freedom on the March," had been sponsored in Evanston.

In introducing his report, Dr. Clark formulated a creed which might well be adopted by every local historical society. "The people who will enjoy Evanston most during 1939," he said, "are those who are familiar with the history of the immediate vicinity. Just as a background of good breeding, education and other attributes make us more interesting to our friends, so also will our knowledge of the Green Bay trail, the early settlers of Grosse Pointe, the founding of the Village of Evanston and of Northwestern University, make us better and more interested citizens of Evanston."

At the January meeting of the Society, Dr. James discussed the coming of the United States Coast Guard to Evanston. Officers and directors for the new year were elected at this time.



Indications are that one result of the Jersey County centennial—the county was organized in 1839—will be the revival of the Jersey County Historical Society. This Society was formerly an active organization with a substantial membership, but interest waned after the homecoming which it sponsored was taken over by the county fair association. The centennial, however, is stimulating interest, and old members of the Society believe that it will be possible to revive and rejuvenate the organization.

At a large and enthusiastic meeting held in Dixon on January 6 the Lee County Historical Society, inactive for several years, was reorganized. New officers elected were Mrs. Beatrice Lanphier, president; Edward Vaile, vice-president; and Clinton Fahrney, secretary. By unanimous vote the Society tendered a life membership to Frank E. Stevens, one of the vice-presidents of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Society held its first regular meeting on January 16 at the Elks Club in Dixon. A paper dealing with the late Don Marquis' early life in Walnut, Illinois was read by Mrs. Ben Billinger.



At its quarterly meeting on December 8, the recently organized Macon County Historical Society adopted a constitution, elected officers, and listened to an address by Judge J. H. McCoy of Decatur on incidents and customs in the early history of the county. At the meeting, which was held in the Decatur Public Library, a number of articles preserved by an earlier county historical society were on display.



Former Governor Charles S. Deneen was the guest speaker when the Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Edwardsville on December 3, 1938. A native of Edwardsville, Mr. Deneen has long been interested in the Society and its activities, and urged all those in attendance to give the organization their active support.

In addition to Mr. Deneen, Mrs. Olive B. Stallings, Granite City librarian, spoke on the subject, "Granite City's Place in Our County." At the business meeting of the Society, W. L. Waters of Godfrey was re-elected president.



When the Morgan County Historical Society held its annual meeting on January 27 two papers were presented. Fritz Haskell of Winchester spoke on "Log Cabins, Their Size, Construction and Furnishings" and Miss Dee Elsome of Jacksonville reviewed the

history of the Passavant Memorial Hospital of that city. Several new additions to the Society's collection of relics were on display at this meeting.



"An Historical Survey of Peoria's Municipal Affairs" was the subject of an address by Richard H. Radley, former corporation counsel of Peoria, at the November meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. At the Society's January meeting Leroy E. Roark, secretary of the Peoria Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association, spoke on the subject, "The Industrial Development of Peoria since 1900." At the March meeting an account of Peoria County's participation in the World War is to be presented.



Henry R. Hamilton, author of *An Epic of Chicago*, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Riverside Historical Society on January 9. The following officers were elected for the new year: Miss Josephine Sherman, president; Robert Isham Randolph, vice-president; H. E. Havemeyer, secretary; Willard Halliday, treasurer; and Dr. S. S. Fuller, historian.



At the meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society on February 4, John H. Hauberg spoke on "Pages out of the Past in Rock Island County." Plans for a campaign for new members were discussed and officers for the new year were elected.



As a part of the centennial observance of the organization of Scott County, which took place in 1839, new chapters in the history of the county are being written. The work is a series of papers being prepared by the members of Chapter Number Six of the National Research Forum in Scott County. Copies of all papers are to be filed in the Illinois State Historical Library.

At a special meeting of the Stark County Historical Society, held in the Toulon Public Library on November 16, 1938, President H. W. Walker announced the receipt of \$6,848.32, a bequest of the late Percy H. Shallenberger of Lost Cabin, Wyoming. The Shallenberger family was one of the earliest and best known of the pioneer families of Stark County.



The collection of historical data relating to the early history of Wilmette has been undertaken by a committee of Ye Olde Towne Folkes Association of that village. The organization hopes to secure a safe and permanent exhibition room in which to preserve the letters, photographs, documents and other articles which may be obtained.



An old-fashioned square dance, two-steps, and waltzes were revived by the Winnetka Historical Society at their costume dance on January 21. The same orchestra which played for north shore dances a quarter of a century ago was reorganized to furnish appropriate music for this occasion. Miss Mary King, social chairman, arranged the evening's entertainment.



At the annual meeting of the Will County Historical Society all the officers were unanimously re-elected. Albert Jerome Stevens, president, led a general discussion on plans for the coming year. A committee to check over the list of active members was appointed.



The Pioneer Sons and Pioneer Daughters of Williamson County held a joint meeting at the public library in Marion on December 5. Hal Trovillion of Herrin spoke on the subject: "The Collecting and Preserving of Family, Community and County Historical Data," while the Reverend J. W. McKinney of Marion gave an account of the early schools and churches of Williamson County.

The county's centennial will be observed on October 5-8 of this year. Fred Harrison of Herrin is chairman of the joint committee of the Pioneer Sons and Pioneer Daughters which is making plans for this celebration.

CONTRIBUTORS

Carl Sandburg, famous poet and biographer of Lincoln, has just completed the manuscript of his narrative of Lincoln's presidency—the sequel to *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*. Through his generosity, this study of Lincoln and the Civil War draft is presented to readers of the *Journal* before the publication of the work as a whole. . . . Louis Gottschalk, author of the second paper in this number, is Chairman of the Department of History, the University of Chicago, and author of *Lafayette Comes to America* and *Lafayette Joins the American Army*. The paper published here was presented at the Illinois Day meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on December 2, 1938. . . . C. C. Carter is a lawyer of Bluffs, Illinois. His description of the frontier politician is the first of a series of three sketches to be published in the *Journal*. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor on the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library.

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RETAIL MERCHANDISING IN CHICAGO, 1833-1848

BY ERNE RENE FRUEH*

PREFACE

THIS study intends to outline broadly the development of the retail merchandising trade of early Chicago and to show the influence of the growth of the town upon that trade. Although the story treats of a particular town, and is confined to a definite period, generally speaking, what happened to Chicago occurred in most of the towns on the Illinois frontier. One may read the early issues of the *Beardstown Chronicle*, the *Sangamo Journal*, the *Chicago Democrat*, or any other Illinois newspaper and in their pages discover striking similarities in the economic growth of the towns they represent. For instance, it will be discovered that most merchants in the various towns lacked currency and capital and were forced to borrow heavily from eastern capitalists to operate their businesses; that in their earlier business transactions they used a barter system because money was lacking; and that as the towns expanded, the wants of their people tended toward the more luxurious types of merchandise instead of the bare necessities needed for the hard life on the American

* The writer wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to Mr. L. Hubbard Shattuck, Director of the Chicago Historical Society, for permission to use material from the Benjamin W. Raymond Letter Books and the Otis and Eddy Ledger.

frontier. Many more of these similarities could be noted if space permitted.

However, and this is obvious, geographical conditions do alter the above generalization somewhat. Those towns which were fortunate enough to be near easy and inexpensive transportation facilities developed and wrecked the frontier in and about them more rapidly than those which were less endowed with these facilities. Because it chanced to be in a geographical position suitable to expansive commerce, Chicago was able to grow to a greater extent than many towns which had been on the border of the expanding frontier.

The Chicago of 1833 was a small town on the cutting edge of the expansive American frontier. Its population, approximately three hundred,¹ lived in a group of shacks built in the hasty frontier manner and without a semblance of arrangement. Dwellings sprawled on the north and south banks of the sluggish Chicago River, while the town's five stores were congregated on the south side of Water Street, facing the river. The whole of this frontier town overlooked Lake Michigan. Planked streets and walks were things of the future for Chicago, and many tales, too numerous to mention, tell of how its unwary citizens and visitors, after heavy rains, sank knee deep into mud holes in front of the general stores. Domesticated animals roamed at will through the streets, wallowing in mud or grazing, while on the outskirts of the town there were wolves which the town's sportsmen hunted. Like all American frontier towns, Chicago had its ruffians, its Indians, its speculators and its individualistic frontierspeople.

¹ Charles Butler in Bessie Louise Pierce, *As Others See Chicago* (Chicago, 1933), 43.

The land about Chicago was flat. Said a young immigrant in 1839: "There is not a hill to be seen and not one piece of woods of any size, within ten miles."² Had the young man been able to tour the country to the south and west of the town, he would have seen miles and miles of this same flat and fertile prairie land, soon to be broken by farmers' plows.

But this typical American frontier town was fortunate in its geographical location, and would, within a few years, be able to destroy the frontier and become a large city, while towns to the south and west, which had risen before anyone thought of a Chicago, would remain small and rural. For Chicago stood midway between what was soon to be the world's greatest agricultural area and the rapidly industrializing East; and by virtue of the Great Lakes trading route it was the center point for the cheapest transportation from the East to the West.

As early as 1831 a St. Louis merchant discovered that he could have merchandise sent via the Great Lakes and overland across Illinois to that town at one-third the cost of shipment by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi,³ the older transportation route. Apparently other merchants were not slow in making the same discovery that the St. Louis man made, for in 1836 the Hubbard Express Company of Chicago had packages of commodities destined for such towns as Terre Haute, Indiana, "Independence and Clinton Iowa, and Joliet, Galena and Danville, Illinois."⁴ So important had the lake com-

² Albert Park to his mother, Oct. 25, 1839 (MS, Chicago Historical Society; typed copy, Harper Memorial Library, University of Chicago).

³ Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State (The Centennial History of Illinois*, II, Springfield, 1918), 190.

⁴ Judson Fiske Lee, "Transportation—A Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois Previous to 1860," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (April, 1917), 27.

merce of Chicago become that in 1834 the *Chicago Democrat* was already printing the numbers and names of ships which arrived at and cleared the port of Chicago. In 1839 a young Bostonian wrote: "Vessels come in every day loaded with goods, and wagons from the country loaded with wheat, flour, etc. . . . There is a great deal of business done here."⁵ Before 1848 over seven hundred packet ships would discharge tons of eastern merchandise at Chicago's port annually, and on return trips would take thousands of bushels of western grains to feed the peoples of the populous East. By 1848, during the season when the farmers took their produce to Chicago, the city was so crowded with wagon trains that a writer of the period said: "We have seen Water and Lake streets almost impassable for hours together."⁶

Chicago, in the desirous position in which it was situated, and already becoming an important distributing point for merchandise, could not help but grow in population and commerce. Its population of 300 rose to 4,853 in 1840; and by 1849 it had increased almost sixfold with 23,047.⁷ Of Chicago's commerce up to 1849, one of the nation's leading business magazines of the period said:

We have more than once endeavored . . . to do justice to the commercial capital of Illinois; but it would really require almost a monthly bulletin of "facts and figures" to keep up with the growth of Chicago in population, in Commerce, and in wealth.⁸

To wreck the frontier in and about it, to increase its own wealth, to expand its markets for incoming

⁵ Albert Park to his mother, Oct. 25, 1839.

⁶ *The Rail-Roads, History and Commerce of Chicago*, published from the *Democratic Press* (2nd ed.; Chicago, 1854), 42.

⁷ O. P. Hatheway and J. H. Taylor, *Chicago City Directory and Annual Advertiser for 1849-50* (Chicago, 1849), 7.

⁸ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, p. 424.

factory goods and outgoing farm products, to make itself a replica of the older eastern sections of the United States, to do all these things, Chicago demanded internal improvements. The town's leaders and newspaper writers urged the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; of railroads to the East, South, and West; of plank roads to pierce the surrounding country; of river and harbor improvements to make easier the entrance of ships to the port. These improvements would come to Chicago during the late forties and fifties, and in spite of the Panic of 1837—which ruined many Chicago businessmen and farmers in the surrounding country, leaving men doubtful as to the town's future⁹—Chicago would rise and shake more vigorously the frontier dust from its cloak.

The growth of stores attests in part the commercial activity of expanding Chicago. In 1833 "there were two or three stores on South Water street."¹⁰ Records of the sizes of these stores are scarce, but they must have been very small if they were anything like the one Philo Carpenter owned, for his early business was situated in a log cabin sixteen by twenty feet. A year later there were "twenty-five or thirty stores, many of them doing a large business."¹¹ In 1835 the number of shops increased to more than fifty;¹² by 1837, the first year of the Panic, Chicago had 120 stores, 20 of which were wholesale, to transact its business.¹³ Two years later

⁹ *Rail-Roads, History and Commerce of Chicago* (2nd ed.), 42.

¹⁰ Morgan L. Shapley in John Wentworth, *Fort Dearborn* (*Fergus Historical Series*, no. 16, Chicago, 1881), 34. See also Albert E. Ebert, "Early History of the Drug Trade of Chicago," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1903* (Springfield, 1904), 237. He says that there were five stores in Chicago in 1833.

¹¹ J. M. Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* (Jacksonville, 1834), 211.

¹² Lee, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, April, 1917, p. 27.

¹³ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XVI, p. 425.

there were 47 dry goods stores alone,¹⁴ and by 1843 that number had increased to 67.¹⁵ In 1844 the number of dry goods stores dropped to 59,¹⁶ but the following year it rose to 72.¹⁷ It will be remembered that from 1839 onward only the dry goods stores, wholesale and retail, were counted, and that branch of business alone indicates exceptional progress for a town on the frontier. It will be noted, too, that in spite of the Panic, which lasted from 1837 to 1842, the total number of Chicago's stores was increasing. This indicates that the town's population was greater and that the back country was filling up with farmers.

It was in this background of early frontier commercial activity that the business of general merchandising grew, and it would not be more than a quarter of a century until men like Marshall Field, Potter Palmer, Leon Mandel and Solomon Klein would take up such businesses and develop them, turning them into huge department stores to fit the needs of a prospering city. But whereas Chicago's early merchants were compelled by frontier conditions to enter into general merchandising, the later department store owners sold the same type of merchandise in order to reap greater profits.

The methods of business used by the early frontier merchants were, of course, entirely dependent upon the financial situation of the frontier town. As in all undeveloped western communities, capital was lacking in Chicago. This made it necessary for Chicago's mer-

¹⁴ Fergus' *Directory of the City of Chicago, 1839*, compiled by Robert Fergus (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 2, Chicago, 1876), 5-36.

¹⁵ *Directory of the City of Chicago, Illinois, for 1843*, compiled by Robert Fergus (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 28, Chicago, 1896), 31-103.

¹⁶ J. W. Norris, *General Directory and Business Advertiser of the City of Chicago for the Year 1844* (Chicago, 1844; republished, Chicago, 1903), 21-65.

¹⁷ *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

chants to borrow heavily from eastern capitalists and friends. Currency is scarce in any frontier society and, needless to say, Chicago had little of it. Merchants, therefore, at least in the earlier years, were compelled to resort to a barter system of doing business, taking currency readily when and where it was obtainable. To make matters more difficult for the early storekeeper, most of the currency was foreign, and everything from Austrian to Mexican coins found its way into the town. Such a diversity of moneys made it difficult to compute their values. Along with this primitive system of doing business, merchants advertised that they would accept "cash and country produce" for their wares.

Until the time of the Panic of 1837, credit was extended rather liberally to the townspeople and farmers, the security being future crops, signed notes, and payments in labor.¹⁸ One can easily see that the financial structure of early Chicago was very weak, for the merchants were indebted to the easterners, and the frontierspeople were indebted to the town merchants. Moreover, speculations of all kinds were rampant in the town during these early years—speculations built on valueless paper, speculations into which Chicago's merchants entered most freely.

One of the biggest problems with which the early merchants had to cope was that of dealing with their debtors. At the beginning of a new year or at the end of an old one, merchants would call in their debtors, often advising them through newspaper advertisements that if their bills were not paid up by a certain date "their notes or accounts will be left with the proper authorities

¹⁸ Otis and Eddy Ledger, 1837-1841 (MS, Chicago Historical Society).

for collections."¹⁹ This condition did not change during the forties. In 1844 Benjamin W. Raymond, a merchant, in writing to D. A. Dickinson, demanded that the recipient of the letter pay his debt or else bear with "a good deal of mortification."²⁰ And newspapers still advertised that people owing tradesmen money were requested to pay up or their notes would be brought before the town officials.²¹

When the Panic of 1837 cast its proverbial dark clouds over the American horizon, the darkest of them seemed to hover over the debtor West. A depression had hit Europe and that continent's capitalists called upon the American financiers to pay up their outstanding debts, and in turn the possessors of wealth in the eastern United States called upon the westerners to pay their debts. Moreover, President Jackson's banking policy and the prevalent speculations in America made it even more difficult for the debtors in the West. Chicago was caught short. According to Elias Colbert's statistics, forty-three Chicago firms discontinued business between 1837 and 1841, omitting figures for 1840,²² and the town "gradually sunk in public favor. . . ."²³ The drug stores were hit hard, only four of them emerging from the financial wreckage to continue business. Twenty-eight dry goods merchants closed the doors of their establishments,²⁴ some of them never to reopen.

Many other merchants would have had to drop their

¹⁹ *Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 18, 1834; see also the *Chicago American*, Jan. 7, and Feb. 18, 1837.

²⁰ Letter of May 22, 1844, B. W. Raymond Letter Book, 1844-1850 (MS, Chicago Historical Society).

²¹ *Chicago American*, Feb. 18, 1844.

²² Elias Colbert, *Chicago. Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Garden City* (Chicago, 1868), 47.

²³ *Rail-Roads, History and Commerce of Chicago*, (2nd ed.), 42.

²⁴ Colbert, *Chicago, the Garden City*, 47.

businesses by the wayside had it not been for fortunate connections. For instance, if Benjamin W. Raymond had not had a wealthy eastern friend to back him, he would have lost his business. His indebtedness amounted to \$15,000 in bills alone, not counting the capital that he had sunk into his enterprise. But his friend rescued him with a loan of \$20,000.²⁵ Charles Walker would probably have been minus a lucrative trade if it had not been for the fact that he had eastern friends and creditors who trusted him for the many notes upon which he had endorsed his name.²⁶ Many merchants were in the same situation as Walker, and a serious pun in a Chicago newspaper showed the financial condition of the town. It read: "'Your friendship is dear to me,' as the merchant said when he had to pay his endorsement for his neighbor."²⁷

After August, 1837, newspaper advertisements of merchants show that they were drawing tighter the credit strings, demanding cash for their wares. But this lasted only a short time for a business revival started in 1842. But even during the depression years, merchants were willing to give credit, to barter with farmers, and to take canal scrip and cash. And by the end of the forties speculations of every kind swept through the frontier community once more.

Apparently the townspeople and the merchants had learned nothing from the Panic, or perhaps the development of a frontier society could not have continued without resort to speculation. One newspaper of the period stated that cash sales were becoming the rule for

²⁵ [W. H. Bushnell], *Biographical Sketches of Some of the Early Settlers of the City of Chicago: Benjamin W. Raymond* (Fergus Hist. Ser., no. 6, Chicago, 1876), 13-14.

²⁶ [Bushnell], *Biog. Sketches: Charles Walker* (Fergus Hist. Ser., no. 6), 35.

²⁷ *Chicago American*, July 18, 1840.

local merchants,²⁸ but this was not altogether true. From 1840 through 1847 a great number of merchants were still using the same methods of business transaction which they had used previous to the depression,²⁹ although by 1841, according to the *Chicago Democrat*, some farmers received currency for their produce.³⁰ The fact that there was more currency in Chicago, after 1841, was perhaps an indication that the frontier methods of business were beginning to disappear and that a more established society was developing.

In spite, however, of the disastrous years between 1837 and 1842, merchants continued to open up new firms, for the number of stores increased steadily throughout the Panic, regardless of the many discontinued businesses. It is evident that as the older merchants faltered or were wiped out by the financial crisis, other businessmen were willing and eager to take the risks of starting mercantile establishments.

Merchants who accepted country produce in payment for merchandise felt that that method offered the best chances for selling at a profit. Some produce was sold across the counter. Merchant Eri B. Hulbert, a partner of Charles Walker, said: "I . . . buy in stuff and peddle it out again and that by pecks."³¹ Newspaper

²⁸ *Chicago American*, July 1, 1841.

²⁹ In 1840, Paine and Norton advertised that they would "take nearly every kind of Truck and Plunder. . . and have the very articles the Farmers need in exchange." *Chicago American*, June 29, 1840. James E. Bishop advertised in 1843, "All kinds of country produce taken in exchange for goods." Fergus, *Directory of Chicago*, 19. A Newberry & Dole advertisement for 1844 announced, "Liberal Advances made on Produce." Norris, *Directory of Chicago, 1844*, p. 96. In 1847, George Gibbs of Raymond Gibbs and Company wrote to a farmer in Lockport, Illinois, asking him to deliver the 3,000 bushels of wheat which he had contracted to send, and for which some goods as well as cash had been given to him. Letter of June 1, 1847, Raymond and Gibbs Letter Book, 1846-1848 (MS, Chicago Historical Society).

³⁰ *Chicago American*, Sept. 23, 1841.

³¹ "A Merchant of Early Chicago," edited by Elizabeth Wyant, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII, no. 2 (July, 1935), 109.

advertisements of the period show that tradesmen sold a variety of country produce, including fresh butter, eggs, and vegetables. The greater part of the farmers' products, however, were bought up by the town's merchants and shipped to the East where agricultural stuffs were in constant demand. Wheat seems to have been most called for by merchants and was one of the most important grains utilized by the easterners.

These methods of doing business, outlined above, did not, as we have seen, change greatly from 1833 to 1848, save that after the Panic had subsided more currency flowed into Chicago. This simplified business transactions, made them more stable, and lessened some speculative risks. But it was not until the middle of the fifties that a more stable financial system made its appearance in Chicago. Until that time the town's methods of transacting business were a cross between frontier and established methods of trading of a developed community.

As early as 1835, however, Chicago's merchants were learning how to attract purchasers through advertising, and newspaper writers of the period were frequently calling the attention of tradesmen to the possibilities of selling their wares through that medium.³² Merchants who dealt in general commodities knew the value of splitting their daily or weekly advertising into sections under such headings as hardware, dry goods, drugs, and boots and shoes. And these special classifications were frequently printed not on one page of a newspaper but on two or three pages. Thus, mention of a merchant's wares would appear more than once in a

³² *Chicago American*, Sept. 3, 1836, July 2, 1847; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 24, 1848.

single issue of a newspaper, which—according to the *Chicago Daily Democrat*—meant that business advantages would be increased.³³ An example or two will illustrate the manner of advertising. Philo Carpenter, who was a druggist by profession but who also sold a general assortment of goods, placed his advertisement of drugs on page one of the *Chicago American*,³⁴ leather goods on page two, and dry goods on page three. Harmon & Loomis, dry goods and general merchants, the Hubbard Company, and the company of Newberry and Dole, commission merchants who also dealt in general merchandise, soon followed Carpenter's procedure.³⁵

The merchants of the middle and late forties began to change this method somewhat. They announced their entire stock of goods or specialties in one large advertisement, usually from five to seven inches in length though only one newspaper column wide, while their smaller announcements, generally one column inch in length, took care of one particular item from their general stock.³⁶

Previous to 1835, advertisements of general merchants were usually lumped into a single column of a newspaper and were from two to three inches in length. John Wright's announcement is typical:

Fine Irish linens; indigo apron Checks and Plaids; Canton Flannel; Brown and Bleached Shirtings; Gauze; White, Scarlet and red Flannel; ready made clothing; also an assortment of Hardware, Crockery, Boots and Shoes, Groceries, stationary, Tinware . . .³⁷

It is also interesting to note that merchants were be-

³³ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 24, 1848.

³⁴ *Chicago American*, June 27, 1835.

³⁵ *Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 26, Dec. 10, 1833; Aug. 12, 1835.

³⁶ See for example John Hyslop's advertisement, *Chicago Daily Journal*, July 18, 1847 and T. C. Carter's advertisement, *Chicago Daily Democrat*, May 30, 1848.

³⁷ *Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 26, 1833.

ginning to see the possibilities of the woman as a buyer, and advertisements were written specially for the feminine sex. In 1837, Benjamin W. Raymond, one of the first to recognize the value of selling to women, announced:

The Ladies may find at the store of B. W. Raymond & Co.
 Rich fig'd and plain Gros de Naples Silks
 Hermoni and crape Shawls and Hk'fs.
 French Lace and Muslin Capes
 Do Cambrics and Muslins
 Tuscan Hats, silk and lille thread Hosiery, Hermoni Silk
 and horseskin Gloves, rich gauze, Veils, &c. &c.³⁸

Isaac Harmon had a "choice selection of Merinos, Corcassians, Mousseline de Laines . . . which he offers to the Ladies cheaper than ever." Already in this frontier town merchants talked about the "latest fashions" in garments, and the frontier lady was not to be without her aids to beauty, for Moffat and Sherwood could supply her with "Curls and Ringlets . . . and all other goods in the line of a jewelers establishment . . ."³⁹

Though the latest fashions in garments and gadgets were now being sold by the frontier merchants, the advertisements of that day were quite unlike those of the later stores. It was not until about 1848 that the general store merchants used illustrations for their wares, and then these were very few.⁴⁰ There was not much variation in the sizes of type used in the early advertisements, and the superlatives of the later advertising had not yet appeared.

³⁸ *Chicago American*, Jan. 7, 1837.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, Oct. 14, 1837; April 13, 1840.

⁴⁰ From the newspaper advertisements of the period, we can find only three illustrations which the general store merchants used. In 1848, A. G. Burley used an illustration of a bowl and a pitcher for the cutlery he was selling; Lyman & Company used a "cut" of their place of business for advertising purposes; and T. B. Carter used an illustration of carpets to advertise that merchandise. Burley's advertisement may be found in the *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Sept. 19, 1848; that of Lyman & Company in *ibid.*, July 3, 1848; and Carter's in *ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1848.

Sales or bargain days at this time were not offered to the public, as they were at a later date. It was only when a merchant found it necessary to give up his business, or when it was not prospering and he wished to sell out, that he offered to the public as well as to other merchants the benefits of lower prices. For instance, when the Messrs. Merritt and Brookfield decided to close up their business and move westward, they made the following announcement:

In the meantime to save transportation we shall close up everything possible, and to do this shall sell at greatly reduced rates. There will be chances for bargains, either at wholesale or retail.⁴¹

Perhaps what more closely resembled a bargain day in general merchandise was the auctioning off of such goods. However, from indications in the local newspapers, it would seem that auctions were not connected with the established merchants save in a few cases, but rather with speculators who came to town loaded with commodities in the hope of making a huge enough profit to enable them to skip off to the West or to enter into other speculations in Chicago.

As an undeveloped western community during this period, Chicago had little or no manufacturing interests. This natural situation made it necessary for merchants to import most of their wares from the East. Sometimes merchants would have agents located in Buffalo, Utica, and Oswego, New York, or in New York City itself, who would act as purchasing agents as well as take care of grain shipped to the East by Chicago merchants.⁴² Many times Chicago's merchants would travel to the

⁴¹ *Chicago Daily Journal*, July 12, 1847.

⁴² *Chicago American*, Aug. 13, 1836.

eastern cities to make their purchases and have them shipped back via the Great Lakes.⁴³ As Chicago's business increased it, too, came to have its agents for shipping companies and Chicago's merchants no longer had to travel. As early as 1835 eastern merchants advertised in a Chicago newspaper, announcing that they would take the orders of the town's merchants.⁴⁴

It was indicated previously that Chicago's earliest merchants were compelled to deal in generalized lines of merchandise. This was particularly true before 1835. Support from the townspeople before that date would hardly have been great enough to sustain a merchant who specialized in particular commodities; for although the town's population was growing, it was not very large and new stores of a general nature were continually springing up to make competition keener. Moreover, the farmer who came to trade in Chicago usually patronized a store in which he could obtain all the articles necessary for his and his family's needs.

Early newspaper advertisements show that most of the storekeepers, whether they were druggists, dry goods or hardware merchants, sold the same kinds of merchandise. Philo Carpenter carried, besides his assortment of drugs and medicines, "oils, paints, and dyestuff; also dry goods, window glass, hardware, boots and shoes, ready made clothing and leather."⁴⁵ Mr. Carpenter's competitor, Peter Pruyne, carried the same general line of goods. W. Kimball, who seems to have sold mostly dry goods, did not forget to mention in his advertisement his general assortment of merchandise:

⁴³ B. W. Raymond Letter Book, May 22, 1847.

⁴⁴ *Chicago American*, July 25, Oct. 3, 1835.

⁴⁵ *Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 26, 1833.

Dry Goods & Glass Ware
 Hardware and Cutlery
 Men's and Boy's Fur and Cloth Caps
 Cotton Batting, Yarn and Wicking
 Sheeting and Shirting, Blankets, &c. &c.⁴⁶

Otis and Eddy, hardware merchants, also carried a few of the same articles which the dry goods merchants handled. Linseed oil, lamps, paints, funnels, nails, tea kettles, stew pots, whips and garden seeds were some of the items listed on their ledger.⁴⁷ Forwarding and commission merchants who handled general goods as a sideline sold commodities that were no different from those of any other merchant.⁴⁸

After 1835, however, a kind of specialization in commodities entered into the frontier town and continued to grow alongside of generalized merchandising. But the distinction between those dealing in specialized and those dealing in general wares is rather difficult to determine. Newspapers and town directories classified certain merchants as dealing in selected goods, and although these may have handled specialties in the main, they also carried goods quite foreign to their major interests.⁴⁹ In reality, therefore, they were not specialists but general store merchants. This early attempt to break away from the natural frontier business of general merchandising was the beginning of a trend toward specialization which had emerged quite successfully by

⁴⁶ *Chicago Democrat*, Dec. 3, 1833.

⁴⁷ Otis and Eddy Ledger, 1837-1841.

⁴⁸ See Hubbard's and Newberry & Dole's advertisements in the *Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 26, 1833 and the *Chicago American*, Oct. 3, 1835.

⁴⁹ Dyer and Chapin, who were listed as dry goods merchants, sold "groceries, nails, glass, etc." Fergus, *Directory of Chicago*, 19. Theron Norton was listed as a dry goods merchant, but sold "Wet and Dry Groceries, Hardware, Crockery, Ready Made Clothing, Hats, Salt, Nails, Glass &c." Norris, *Directory of Chicago*, 1844, p. 90. B. W. Raymond, who in the forties was a hardware merchant, writes of sending "12 boxes of shoes and 7 pk mint" to Peoria, Illinois. Letter of Nov. 16, 1846, Raymond and Gibbs Letter Book, 1846-1848.

1848.⁵⁰ In passing, one might add that perhaps this tendency toward specialization was another indication that the town was striving to climb from the frontier level.

But however the specialists in merchandise progressed, they apparently did not injure the trade of the general merchants. The forerunners of the department store owners developed their businesses steadily in spite of the depression, and by 1848 their firms could easily be classed with some of the smaller general department stores one is likely to find in the outlying business districts of present-day Chicago. By the end of this period in Chicago's history, the general store owners had four-story buildings of brick 120 to 150 feet deep devoted entirely to their businesses, and the types and varieties of merchandise which they handled were greatly increased. They were also beginning to make strides in wholesaling commodities to Chicago's hinterland.

Before 1835, as we have seen, the general storekeeper sold goods which were necessities for life on the frontier. Merchants advertised those things which were paramount for a new society, simple things for the most part, things which the ordinary man, woman or child of the frontier required. "Cotton Batting, Yarn and Wicking, Sheeting and Shirting, and Blankets" for the home-makers were some of the items sold. Window glass, nails, leather, axes, paints, wagon boxes, hardware and

⁵⁰ It should be mentioned here that some few merchants did begin to specialize as early as 1835. For instance, John Holbrook sold "Ready Made Clothing & Boots and Shoes" and apparently he was successful for his advertisements appeared steadily in the *Chicago Democrat* and the *Chicago American* at least until 1840. See the *Chicago Democrat*, Aug. 12, 1835 and the *Chicago American*, April 14, 1840. Watch repairers and jewelers, it seems, were specialists and had come to Chicago in the late thirties; see any advertisements of watch repairers and jewelers in the *Chicago Democrat* and the *Chicago American*, particularly the latter for Jan. 7, 1837, in which a number of such advertisements appeared. Bookstores were advertised as specialists, but they carried dry goods, hardwares, and patent medicines; see *Chicago American*, Jan. 21, 1837.

tools of all kinds were listed by the advertisers; for Chicago had to build shacks in which to live. Boots, shoes, hats, caps, jeans, and ready-made clothing to suit the tastes of the frontier people were given attention. It was only occasionally that a general merchant mentioned articles belonging to a more developed society, that for example, in which women are important purchasers. Rather infrequently, before 1835, did the merchants advertise silks, satins, perfumes, tableware, and aids to beauty.

Chicago, however, did not have long to wait before most of the general stores carried merchandise which the developed eastern communities possessed. This expansion in the handling of varieties of commodities helped, in a way, to wreck the crudeness of the frontier society. This particular type of growth had been going on steadily up to 1837, when the Panic stagnated business; but after the depression clouds disappeared, a business revival started, along with a rapid increase in population. A larger society created a desire for new and more luxurious wants, and caused business to accelerate greatly along the lines of these particular demands.

By 1835, Tuthill King was offering for sale many varieties of coats, trousers, and shirts for men, and bosoms, collars, hosiery, and handkerchiefs for women.⁵¹ In 1837 the Taylor and Breese Company offered ladies such materials as were probably considered the height of fashion throughout the United States during the thirties and forties:

Elegant Chali Foulards; do plain Challisi; super fig'd silks and satins; do plain; do black and blue Gros de Rhine; do do de Swiss;

⁵¹ *Chicago American*, Aug. 1, 1835; *Chicago Democrat*, Jan. 6, 1836.

fancy col'd Plout de Soie; black Matteoni Lustring; Riva do.⁵²

Soon a general merchant could open a "special room above his store" for the sale of "carpeting, painted floor cloths, rugs, mats, plain and printed blockings. . . ." ⁵³ Another merchant opened departments for imported teas and selected types of dry goods.⁵⁴ Those merchants who were not able to expand their business houses could enlarge their stocks of merchandise.

Imported "china, glass, earthen, stone-ware, and looking-glasses" were mentioned in one of A. G. Burley & Company's advertisements.⁵⁵ In another they told the public that it could now purchase fancy cutlery and jewelry in this store. Nor did the merchants stop expanding their lines of commodities in dry goods. T. B. Carter started to carry "green and fancy Parasols;"⁵⁶ "Gentlemen's White Silk Gloves;" "Ladies Cravats, Crape and Silk Scarfs, Steel Purses and Bags, Purse Twist and Trimmings;" and, perhaps for the most elegant of frontier ladies, "beautiful fans."⁵⁷ Brinkerhoff and Penton added to their stock of goods such necessities for cleanliness as "Clothes Brushes, Hair do, Tooth do, Shoe do, Nail do."⁵⁸

Even though the general merchant continued to enlarge his line of merchandise, he still clung to the older staple commodities. The heavier wares included such items as stoves, nails, sash, wagon boxes, tinware, glass, putty and lumber.⁵⁹ Moreover, some of the merchants

⁵² *Chicago American*, Jan. 7, 1837.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1837.

⁵⁴ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Oct. 31, 1848.

⁵⁵ Fergus, *Directory of Chicago*, 19.

⁵⁶ *Chicago Daily Journal*, July 12, 1847.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, Jan. 21, Dec. 29, 1847.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1847.

⁵⁹ See Neef and Church's advertisement in the *Chicago Daily Journal*, Dec. 27, 1847; A. Bigelow's in the *Chicago Daily Democrat*, May 30, 1848; A. G. Burley's in *ibid.*, May 30, 1848; C. Follanbee's in *ibid.*, July 12, 1847.

who advertised themselves as dealers in selected commodities sold many articles other than those in which they specialized just as they did in the early and late thirties. For instance, A. H. and C. Burley chiefly advertised books, but they carried also "Razors, Knives, and Scissors"⁶⁰ as well as patent medicines. Sherwood and Company were jewelers, but strange as it may seem they also had a Mr. Burdett in their store who sold pianos.⁶¹ Although James Hyslop called himself a dealer in "hats, caps and furs" he carried such items as these: umbrellas, trunks, overcoats, carpet bags, life preservers, neckties, tippets, shirts, gloves, canes, stocks, suspenders, muffs, bosoms, and hosiery. These are but a few examples of the advertisements of dealers in specialized articles which might be found in the local newspapers.

Chicago druggists, too, in spite of the fact that they had enlarged their merchandise, carried some general lines of goods. For example, druggist Champlin, in 1848, still handled paints, paint brushes, varnishes, window glass, putty, sponges, and some groceries. It was not until the fifties that the druggists departed from general lines of merchandise.

When the general store merchant enlarged his stock of goods it was necessary for him to obtain larger quarters in which to transact his business. The expansion of business quarters grew steadily up to 1837 when the financial crisis halted building. But by 1840 some merchants, like Charles Walker, were already moving to larger quarters, and the revival of business about 1842, along with the rapid growth of population, caused a sudden movement in the direction of building.

⁶⁰ *Chicago Daily Journal*, Nov. 15, 1847; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, May 30, 1848.

⁶¹ *Chicago Daily Journal*, July 19, 1847.

It will be remembered that in 1832 Philo Carpenter started his business in a log cabin sixteen by twenty feet. The next year he built a two-story frame building with two stores on the ground floor and living quarters above. By 1840 he had enlarged his business quarters several times, ending in 1843 with his large "Checkered Store." Thomas Church, in 1834, started his business of general merchandising in a building twenty by forty feet. His business became so large that by 1840 he was forced to remove and establish himself in a fireproof building of brick with a forty-foot front.⁶²

Some merchants were expanding their businesses beyond the confines of Chicago. Harmon and Loomis, who had an established business in the town, bought another store in Naperville, Illinois, where they sold general lines of goods.⁶³ Peter Pruyne, druggist and general merchant, located branch stores at several points along the route of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, two of them being at St. Charles and Joliet, Illinois. Benjamin W. Raymond, who had interests in Elgin, Illinois, and had been watching the growth of that town, started a general store there.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, in Chicago, after 1840, new buildings were being erected at a rapid rate. The local newspapers frequently carried short articles concerning dwellings and stores and proposals for their construction. Merchants were changing their business locations so often that it is difficult to follow their movements. In 1847 the *Chicago Daily Democrat* remarked that new and large stores were being built every day, and that merchants were moving into them, trying to carry on business

⁶² [Bushnell], *Biog. Sketches: Thomas Church* (*Fergus Hist. Ser.*, no. 6), 43, 45.

⁶³ *Chicago American*, Jan. 16, 1836.

⁶⁴ [Bushnell], *Biog. Sketches: Benjamin W. Raymond*, 18.

while changing locations. Soon such established merchants as Tuthill King, Philo Carpenter, and Jeremiah Price had four-story buildings 120 feet deep, the whole devoted to the merchandising of general commodities.⁶⁵ And yet, if we take the word of William Bross, the stores of the late forties were still being built in the "balloon fashion,"⁶⁶ which no doubt meant that they were being thrown together after the frontier manner without regard to permanency.

How much money did these early general merchants earn in their respective businesses? Figures on merchants' earnings during this early period are exceedingly scarce, and those of their letter books which are obtainable do not give much information. Moreover, the newspapers at that time did not print yearly reports of the earnings in the various businesses. However, from those figures which are available, one is able to obtain some indication of the amount of business done by the early merchants.

Of the profits of merchants before 1835 there are no figures that we know of, but during that year Thomas Church made \$800 in five weeks.⁶⁷ In 1838, a hard year for a great number of people in the frontier town, "his retail sales for cash amounted to over \$41,000."⁶⁸ When in 1843 Church retired from the business of dealing in generalized merchandise, he had \$37,000, which he sunk into real estate where profits were greater.⁶⁹ At about this same time the average earnings in the drug and general store business were from five to

⁶⁵ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 28, 1848.

⁶⁶ William Bross, "What I Remember of Early Chicago," in *Reminiscences of Chicago During the Forties and Fifties*, edited by Mabel McIlvaine (Chicago, 1913), 4.

⁶⁷ [Bushnell], *Biog. Sketches: Thomas Church*, 44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

six thousand dollars per year.⁷⁰ For frontier businesses these profits seem quite large but when one considers that the value of money had depreciated because of frontier inflation, and that Chicagoans were willing to pay anywhere from ten to twenty-five dollars for a four-hour sleigh ride, one wonders what the real profits of the merchants were.

The figures on Thomas Church's earnings are the only ones dealing with "cross counter" sales that we have, but from other statistics we might get an idea of the amount of business transacted by the frontier general merchants. Of the merchants who dealt in generalized lines of goods and traded with the farmer, the Charles Walker Company seems to have done the greatest amount of business. In 1837 it shipped \$10,000 worth of hides; in 1838, \$25,000 worth of the same article; in 1840, \$185,000 worth of hides and wheat.⁷¹ These figures, of course, do not tell the complete story of that company's business. But one may assume that it traded merchandise in return for produce of the farmers and made a profit on it, not counting another profit made on the firm's shipment of such produce to the East.

Other merchants, as well as Walker, entered this bartering business. Paine and Norton, in 1839, shipped \$10,000 worth of pork, beef, and lard; in 1840, Benjamin W. Raymond shipped \$3,000 worth of flour, wool, pork, wheat, and beans, while Bristol & Porter exported \$10,120 worth of wheat.⁷²

While the merchants of Chicago were making profits by sales and bartering, the town was growing, and the frontier was rapidly being pushed farther west. The

⁷⁰ *Rail-roads, History and Commerce of Chicago* (2nd ed.), 43.

⁷¹ Colbert, *Chicago, the Garden City*, 47.

⁷² *Ibid.*

Indians had been removed in 1835; the ruffians, for the most part, pulled up their stakes and shoved on to other frontier towns for adventure; and Chicago, now rapidly taking on the air of a city, was becoming an established society. Speculators, it is true, remained, taking advantage of the city's expansion to put over new land deals. But the townspeople were establishing schools, churches, theaters, and other cultural institutions, and were thinking seriously of building better streets and other man-made devices to make the town safe and sanitary. And perhaps the general merchants, along with other businessmen, were dreaming of the realization of internal improvements, all of which would help to make Church's profit of \$41,000 per year seem small in comparison with the fortunes made by men like Marshall Field.

MORMONISM IN ILLINOIS

BY CLYDE E. BUCKINGHAM

THE founding of Nauvoo "the beautiful" a century ago marked the beginning of one of the most exciting epochs in the history of Illinois. At a great bend in the Mississippi River, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids, Captain James White in 1823 or 1824 built a log house. As there were many Indians in the vicinity Captain White's house was used as a trading post and occupied by the Indian agent. This first settler engaged in farming and also in keel-boating on the river.

In 1834 two eastern land speculators, A. White and J. B. Teas, mapped out (on paper) the town of Commerce and shortly afterwards H. R. Hotchkiss mapped out Commerce City. These efforts, however, did not succeed in their purpose of attracting settlers to Commerce City. In the early part of 1839 the settlement consisted of only two frame houses, a trading post, and two blockhouses. There was nothing to indicate that this little frontier outpost was soon to become the Mecca of Mormonism and the largest, most influential community in the state.

To Joseph Smith, Jr., in Manchester, New York, there had been "revealed" in 1827 the *Book of Mormon*. Around this "Revelation" and with Joseph as Prophet there was organized in 1830 The Church of Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ. Within the next year the Church moved its headquarters to Kirtland in the state of Ohio.

Intensely enthusiastic in their responsibility of making converts, the "elders" of the Mormon Church were soon carrying their missionary endeavors to all parts of the United States and within a short time were traveling to European countries as well. Large success attended their efforts.

Early in the thirties missionaries established Mormonism in the sparsely settled counties of western Missouri. Cordially received at first, the natives soon became very hostile to the newcomers. The "Saints" were driven from Jackson County to Clay County and three years later were again forced to migrate to Caldwell—a new county which had been established for them on the frontier.

Many reasons have been given for this "persecution" of the Mormons. Their religion was disliked by some, but the chief causes of controversy seem to have been economic and political. From the beginning, Mormon leaders urged their followers to vote as a unit and to vote whichever way the leaders thought would best serve Mormon interests. As the ranks of the "Saints" were increasing with great rapidity the non-Mormons became fearful that these newcomers would soon become a majority and secure political supremacy. Many wanted to sell out and leave the country but the new immigrants were poor and unable to buy.

In the middle thirties the Prophet Joseph moved the headquarters of the Church from Kirtland to Caldwell County. The frequent declarations by the Prophet that western Missouri had been set aside by divine dispensation for the "Saints" increased the hostility already prevalent. The Mormons were now accused of thefts, arson, and even murder. The Gentiles became convinced

that the "Saints" must be driven from Missouri, whereas Mormon leaders hurled defiance to their opponents and threatened "a war of extermination." In this atmosphere many acts of hostility were sure to occur. Lawless bands seized the opportunity to rob and burn. Several skirmishes occurred, with casualties on both sides.

In this crisis Governor Boggs called for volunteers and ordered the Mormons to "be exterminated or driven from the state." Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders surrendered and were jailed as hostages to insure the peaceful departure of their followers. The winter of 1838-1839 set in early. The condition of the Mormons was pitiable. Leaving their leaders incarcerated in the jails of western Missouri, they turned back east and started the long journey over wilderness trails across frozen rivers to Illinois. They crossed the frozen Mississippi at Quincy and were given a cordial reception by the citizens of Illinois, who regarded them as victims of religious intolerance and contributed to their wants. In Quincy, crowded into barns, sheds, huts, and tents, the Mormons kept up their religious services in spite of all hardships and for a time were more numerous than any other religious organization in that town. An eyewitness described them as "generally of the poorer and more illiterate classes."

Mormonism had been first introduced into Illinois soon after the organization of the Church. An early Mormon publication, in November, 1832, referred to a Mormon "branch" already organized in Fulton County.¹ Later issues give no further information concerning this group. In March, 1835, another Mormon publica-

¹ *Evening and Morning Star*, Nov., 1832.

tion reported satisfactory progress in western Illinois.² Elders G. M. Hinkle, H. Green, S. Carter and S. Brown had baptized 117, while Elders Groves and Lyman "to the north" of them had baptized twenty-one more. "Thus the mighty work moves forward." Even from the beginning, Mormonism in Illinois was bitterly opposed. Elder Carter was quoted as saying that he had met with some opposition:

That [persecution] we have reason to expect. He says that not long before a gang of about twenty men, armed, came to escort him before a court, but after a hearing he was discharged but not without being threatened by the rabble that if he did not leave the county immediately he would be dealt with in a different manner. He however, appointed meetings and continued to proclaim the Gospel of our Lord, and hold up the truth to a dying people with as much zeal as before.

A conference was held in Clinton County, Illinois, April 25, 1835. The business transacted at this conference is not narrated but it is stated that since coming to Illinois, Elder G. M. Hinkle had baptized 113 and had been requested to preach in Green County and in Troy. Elders A. Gifford and W. Harris had recently joined him in his work.³ On June 16, 1835, William Berry wrote from Canton, Illinois, telling the Elders "if you pass this way call and help us onward in the cause of truth."⁴

Elder C. Rich wrote from Tazewell County, Illinois stating:

I have just returned from the north part of this state where I have been laboring in company with Elder M. Phelps for a few weeks past. We are opposed by the missionaries but succeeded in establishing a church in Cook County comprising nine members. I have baptized one since my arrival at home; and there are more

² *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, March, 1835.

³ *Messenger and Advocate*, March, 1835.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July, 1835.

inquiring and are friendly to the cause of truth.⁵

On July 4, 1835, Elder E. H. Groves wrote from Carmi, Illinois, that he and Elder I. Higbee had left Chariton County, Missouri on April 30 and had arrived at McLeansburg on May 4; he added that since arriving there he had been preaching in that region. "The Lord has blessed our labors. We have baptized forty-five in the counties of Hamilton and White. All were strong in the faith."⁶ Elders C. W. Patten and G. P. Dykes wrote from Edwards County, Illinois on August 3, 1835, saying that they had baptized forty-five in that county.

Elder S. Wixom wrote from Lewistown, Illinois on August 4, 1835 that he had been working in that neighborhood about three weeks and that one had been baptized. He declared:

Many are convinced of the truth and are inquiring about the old paths; some are hindered by those who have authority over them. Brethren pray that the Lord may let the captives go free: that he that will may come and partake of the waters of life freely.⁷

On November 2, 1835, Elder Solomon Wixom wrote:

I have been laboring for the last three months in Fulton, Schuyler, and Adams counties: I baptized one in Fulton and in company with Elder C. Rich I have baptized five in Crooked Creek. In Adams County and Schuyler County there is an effective door for preaching.⁸

On December 22, 1835, Elder Elisha Groves wrote to the editor of the *Messenger and Advocate*:

I left Clay County, Missouri Sept. 11, 1834 in company with Elder M. Phelps on a mission to publish glad tidings of great joy to the inhabitants of the earth: we journeyed and preached for the

⁵ *Messenger and Advocate*, Aug., 1835.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1835.

space of four months and four days, held forty-one meetings, baptized sixteen and ordained one elder and one teacher in Calhoun County, Illinois. From this place I travelled in company with Elder A. Lyman held thirty-eight meetings and baptized six in Madison County, Illinois. Travelled alone, held twenty-five meetings, baptized ten and ordained one elder and one priest in Madison County, Illinois.

Met Elder Higbee in Clinton County, Illinois on the first of May 1835. We travelled and proclaimed the gospel fifty-six times, baptized forty-six, and ordained three elders in Hamilton County, Illinois. Arrived in Kirtland on the 11th of August 1835. Went to work on the House of the Lord. Worked fifty-one days.⁹

Elder Milton Holmes came from Tennessee to assist Elders Higbee and Groves. By November 2, 1835, thirty-three had been baptized in Hamilton County. After Higbee and Groves left for Kirtland, Elder Holmes wrote that he baptized nine more.¹⁰

In the February, 1836 issue of the *Messenger and Advocate*, Elder C. Rich wrote that he and Elder Wixom had baptized five in the western part of Illinois and many were "convinced of the truth of the Gospel." In the same issue Elder Solomon Wixom wrote that there were eighteen "in good standing" in the church at Crooked Creek in Schuyler County, Illinois. In the same issue, Solomon Hancock reported that he and Elder C. W. Patten had organized "a branch" of twenty-five members in Edwards County and had baptized three in Lawrence County. In the issue of March, 1836, it was reported that Elder Caleb Baldwin was holding meeting in Clear Creek, Illinois. S. A. Mitchell, writing in 1837, stated there were "a few Mormons, scattered throughout the state."¹¹

The notorious John Doyle Lee, who later was to be

⁹ *Messenger and Advocate*, Jan., 1836.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ S. Augustus Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837* (Philadelphia, 1837), 63.

convicted and sentenced to death by a United States Court for having led a force of Mormons and Indians in the "Mountain Meadow Massacre" of an immigrant train, has left in his confession an interesting insight into the activities and "Gospel" of these early Mormon missionaries to Illinois. In 1836, Elders Durphy and Peter Dustan came to Jo Daviess County near Galena. Lee's wife and mother attended the Mormon services and were pleased with the doctrine. In giving his reason for not attending, Lee stated: "I was not a member of any Church, and considered the religion of the day as merely the opinions of men who preached for hire and worldly gain."¹² By the following year, Lee, a professional gambler, had accumulated considerable property. He was the owner of a large house at Luck Creek near Galena. He wrote:

I gave permission to all sorts of people to come there and preach. Methodists, Baptists, Campbellites, and Mormons all preached there when they desired to do so.

In 1837 a man by the name of King, from Indiana, passed by, or came to my place, on his way to Missouri to join the Mormons. He had been a New Light or Campbellite preacher. I invited him to stay at my place until the next spring. I gave him provisions for his family, and he consented to and did stay with me some time.

Soon after that there was a Methodist meeting at my house. After the Methodist services were through I invited King to speak. He talked about half an hour on the first principles of the gospel as taught by Christ and his apostles, denouncing all other doctrines as spurious. This put an end to other denominations preaching in my house

When King began to preach at my house I noticed that every other denomination opposed him. I was surprised at this. I could not see how he could injure them if they were right. . . .

The more I studied the question the more interested I became. I talked of the doctrine to nearly every man I met. The excitement

¹² John Doyle Lee, *The Mormon Menace* (New York, 1905), 39.

soon became general, and King was invited to preach in many places. . . .

My frequent conversations with Elder King served to carry me on to a conviction that the dispensation of the fullness of time would soon usher in upon the world. If such was the case I wished to know it; for the salvation of my never-dying soul was of far more importance to me than all other earthly considerations. I regarded the heavenly boon of eternal life as a treasure of great price. I left off my frivolity and commenced to lead a moral life. I began trying to lay up treasure in heaven, in my Father's rich storehouse, and wished to become an heir of righteousness, to inherit in common with the faithful children the rich legacy of our Father's Kingdom.¹³

In the meanwhile Lee's neighbor, Levi Stewart, had journeyed to the headquarters of Mormonism and had joined the Church there. Lee wrote:

Stewart, who had just returned from Missouri, brought the most cheering and thrilling accounts of the power and manifestations of the Holy Spirit . . . that there was no deception about it . . . that they had the gift of tongues, the interpretation of those tongues, the power of healing the sick by the laying on of hands, prophesying, casting out devils and evil spirits.¹⁴

After carefully studying The Book of Mormon, Lee sold his possessions and journeyed to the far western part of Missouri, there to join the Mormons and to become, years later, a principal actor in the "Mountain Meadow Massacre" and to be shot by an army firing squad at the very spot where he had committed his black crime.

Hancock County, prior to the arrival of the Mormons at Quincy, had remained almost a wilderness. At the "paper town" of Commerce City, which had been first settled by Captain White, a New York land company owned or claimed title to extensive land holdings on both sides of the Mississippi. The company saw in the

¹³ Lee, *The Mormon Menace*, 38-40.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

arrival of the Mormons a market for the sale of its lands. Its representative, Dr. Isaac Galland, approached the Mormon refugees at Quincy with an offer of 20,000 acres at two dollars an acre to be paid in twenty annual installments without interest.

After considerable discussion, due to fear on the part of many that the establishment of a separate Mormon community would again arouse Gentile hostility and a repetition of the horrors of Missouri, the leaders accepted Dr. Galland's offer and purchased other land as well. On June 11 the first house was constructed and within a year 150 houses had been built. Prophet Joseph Smith, having been released from his Missouri prison, moved his family into the house formerly owned by Captain White. The new settlement now became "The Stake of Zion" and Prophet Joe changed the prosaic name of Commerce City to Nauvoo, which according to his "enlightened" Hebrew meant "a beautiful place." In December, 1840, the city was granted a most liberal charter by the state legislature; each party sought to grant more favors than the other in order to win the Mormon vote.

Mormonism, with its enthusiastic claims of a new and superior "revelation," could not be favorably received and tolerated by more orthodox religious groups. The Reverend B. F. Morris, pioneer Presbyterian missionary to Hancock County, expressed the alarm felt by the older faiths. In a letter written from Carthage, Illinois to the Reverend Absalom Peters, secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, New York City, May 28, 1839, he stated:

We are surrounded by the delusion of Mormonism, hundreds of whom have been driven from Missouri to this region. But few if

any of the citizens or people believe or countenance this wild fanaticism of religious feeling.¹⁵

Later he wrote that many followers of Joe Smith were invading Hancock County. He wrote:

[The] elders are trying to enlighten the good people in regard to their religious system. They have made but little impression here as their errors and delusions have been pretty fully exposed. The history of this deluded people teaches us one very instructive lesson and that is the importance of thorough Biblical instruction.¹⁶

In spite of growing opposition Nauvoo flourished. Soon its inhabitants numbered among the thousands, homes were built, and magnificent public buildings were planned. In addition to the refugees who had fled the wrath of Missouri mobs, numerous converts were added to the cause daily. From all parts of the United States and from faraway England where the great mission of the apostles had been phenomenally successful came thousands of new converts to add to the overcrowded city. Business flourished and Nauvoo soon became the largest and one of the most prosperous cities in Illinois.

The older settlers in Hancock County saw the political control of their county about to be seized by the rapidly increasing Mormon population. Again the Reverend Morris raised his voice in alarm.

This deluded, fanatical, and ignorant sect is about to be poured upon us by thousands . . . and thus like the locusts of Egypt consume every green thing in the land and wither away so far as they can every vestige of godliness. . . . In view of this perspective state of things nearly all of the old citizens are anxious to sell their property and many of them will no doubt move away. There is not only in this village [Warsaw] but all through the country a strong disin-

¹⁵ Letter in the American Home Missionary Society Collection, Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.

¹⁶ Letter of Aug. 2, 1839 in Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.



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clination to live near the Mormons.¹⁷

Led by the Gentile residents of Hancock and neighboring counties many laid aside political differences and formed a powerful anti-Mormon coalition demanding that the growing power of the Mormons be curbed. This attack centered on the charter granted the city of Nauvoo. Under its provisions the mayor not only helped make the laws; but as the executive he was charged with the enforcement of them, and as the head of the Municipal Court he might place upon them his own interpretation. Undoubtedly Nauvoo by this time had attracted more than its share of criminals. From both sides of the Mississippi came repeated charges that criminals from Nauvoo had robbed, burned buildings, and even murdered their Gentile neighbors. The non-Mormons traced these bandits to Nauvoo only to find that if arrests could be made the culprits were speedily released on writs of habeas corpus or disappeared before trial. Even the Prophet Joe found his court quite partial when he was brought before it on the old Missouri charge of treason.¹⁸

Under provisions of the charter, Nauvoo established its own militia. As hostility between Mormons and Gentiles became increasingly severe the "Nauvoo Legion" became the focal point of bitter controversy. In equipment, discipline, and training it was recognized as a formidable military machine. The non-Mormons of Hancock County, already outnumbered at the polls and alarmed by the rapid rate with which Mormonism was increasing, saw in the Legion a threat to their

¹⁷ Letter of Aug. 2, 1841 in Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.

¹⁸ Edward Everett, "Reminiscences of the Mormon War in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1905* (Springfield, 1906), 185-86. Also Lee, *The Mormon Menace*, 127.

safety. Mormon leaders pointed out that the Legion was authorized under their charter and stated that its only purpose was to maintain order and to prevent a repetition of such wrongs as had been suffered by the "Saints" in Missouri and Ohio.

In his inaugural address to the state legislature on December 8, 1842, Governor Ford suggested that the charter of Nauvoo be modified so as to eliminate the exceptional privileges which were arousing so much opposition. On the following day, James M. Davis of Bond County introduced a resolution in the House, urging the repeal of the law incorporating the city of Nauvoo.¹⁹ William Smith, brother of Prophet Joe, representing Hancock County, replied stating that Nauvoo had no greater privileges under its charter than those enjoyed by several other Illinois cities. As to the "Legion" the Mormons hadn't even received their fair share of the arms of the state. According to Elder Smith the opposition to Mormonism was primarily religious. To revoke the charter would be to retard the further growth of Mormonism and result in the loss of property and settlers to the state. In closing, William could not refrain from reminding the legislature that Hancock County had given a thousand votes (presumably Mormon) to Thomas Ford and the Democratic Party in the recent election. The repeal of the charter would be a base act of ingratitude.²⁰ The charter was not repealed.

When the Mormons first arrived in Illinois and applied for their Nauvoo charter the notorious Dr. John C. Bennett was of considerable service in obtaining the

¹⁹ Ford's Address, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1842), 50; Davis' resolution, *ibid.*, 54.

²⁰ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1909), V: 201-204.

charter. Later he became a "Saint" and was made the first mayor of Nauvoo. In addition he became commander of the "Nauvoo Legion" and thus became second only to Joseph Smith in power and influence. Perhaps because of the popularity of the newcomer a clash between the Prophet and Bennett took place, followed by Bennett's withdrawal from the Church. Dr. Bennett began a vigorous attack upon Mormonism and particularly upon Joseph Smith, accusing the Prophet and other church leaders of immoral practices and of treasonable political ambitions.²¹ Bennett was joined by other former Mormons eager to expose—at a profit—the inner workings of Mormonism.

These new attacks from within Mormon circles provided fuel for many already embittered in their attitudes. The Reverend W. M. King, Presbyterian missionary to Hancock County, wrote: "I presume Nauvoo is as perfect a sink of debauchery and every species of abomination as ever were Sodom or Nineveh."²² Another missionary, writing from Warsaw, Hancock County, stated:

In regard to the county the prospects for successful labor in the moral field is indeed dark and forbidding enough. The frogs of Egypt are literally covering the whole land. . . . The result of all this [the missionary accused the Mormons of double-crossing the Democratic ticket in a recent election] is to unsettle everything pertaining to education and true religion.²³

Again he wrote:

Mormonism is exerting a great and pernicious influence in this county [Hancock]. Here is the seat of the Beast and the false prophet. Here are 15,000 souls deluded and under the absolute dominion of

²¹ John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints or, an Exposé of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston, 1842).

²² Letter to Absalom Peters, May 3, 1842 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.).

²³ B. F. Morris to Milton Badger, Aug. 15, 1843, *ibid.*

Joe Smith. He literally leads them whithersoever he will. They have unlimited belief in his prophecies; and no prophecy however absurd and preposterous can break the force of their belief in him or dissipate the dreadful delusions that cover their minds. . . . The old citizens are under great excitement. . . . We are on the eve of an outbreak and I should not be surprised to see very soon the scenes of Missouri enacted anew. . . . What is to be the finale of this chief of all modern humbugs I know not.²⁴

In communities quite distant from Hancock County intense feeling developed against Mormonism. In Freeport, Stephenson County, the Reverend Calvin Watesbury asserted that New England immigrants were no longer coming into that region, due in part to "the vicinity of the Mormon."²⁵ In Augusta, Hancock County, Milton Kimball asserted: "The fear of the Mormons had deterred immigrants from settling with us. This doubtless is one chief reason why I am the only Protestant minister in this great county."²⁶ Most of the non-Mormon residents in Hancock County were anxious to sell their possessions and leave the country.²⁷ Early missionaries to the county gave up their work in despair and the only remaining Protestant missionary lamented that during the bitter controversy between Mormon and Gentiles there was general apathy towards all religion.²⁸

In spite of the growing storm of Gentile opposition which was about to break over its walls, Nauvoo continued its rapid growth until it achieved a position of superiority in population and prosperity among Illinois cities. Mormon records for the year 1842 describe it as a city of 10,000 inhabitants with thousands more settled

²⁴ Aug. 25, 1843 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.).

²⁵ Letter to Milton Badger, Oct., 1843, *ibid.*

²⁶ Letter to Milton Badger, July 24, 1844, *ibid.*

²⁷ William M. King to Milton Badger, Nov. 30, 1842; B. F. Morris to Milton Badger, Aug. 15, 1843, *ibid.*

²⁸ J. A. Hawley to Milton Badger, Feb. 8, 1843, *ibid.*

in the immediate vicinity. The homes were still mostly small temporary cabins built of wood but were being replaced by others built of brick and stone. The broad streets were laid square with the compass but had not yet been paved.²⁹ Two buildings sacred to the memory of Mormonism—the Nauvoo Temple and the Mansion House—were already under construction. High on the top of the hill where it could be seen for miles up and down the river stood the three-story million dollar temple. Built of white limestone with its tower far above the hills that held captive the King of Waters, the Nauvoo Temple captured the admiration and reverence of all alike. Never completely finished, this noble building was destroyed by fire in 1848 after the Mormons had left Nauvoo. Its ruins were used as a stone quarry and its stones used in the construction of other buildings. The Nauvoo House was to have been a great three-story building, the finest in all the West. The construction of this hotel was stopped by the so-called Mormon War. Today its stones also have been used for other buildings; but part of the foundation is there as a mute testimony to one of the most noble dreams of the Prophet Joe and as a pathetic reminder of the glory that was once Nauvoo.

Around the personality of the Prophet Joseph Smith have raged the most violent storms of controversy. Product of the American frontier—that environment which gave birth to the untutored genius of Abraham Lincoln—Smith undoubtedly possessed considerable native ability and many qualities necessary for leadership on the frontier. Clarissa Gear, seventeen-year old Yankee Episcopalian, has left us an interesting portrait of

²⁹ *Millennial Star* (Liverpool, Eng.), Vol. 3, p. 67.

Prophet Joe as he appeared while on a visit to Galena:

He was an ordinary looking man of medium height, nothing impressive in appearance, dressed in homespun blue jeans, trimmed in smooth brass buttons, and wore a wide brimmed black hat. He looked much like a workingman. I could not see that anyone paid him any deference, as he walked up the street with his fellows, carrying the produce they had brought to Galena to sell. As I write this, I feel that it was wrong that Joe Smith was killed, that he was an inoffensive, dull creature, but was made the scapegoat for others who had the brains.³⁰

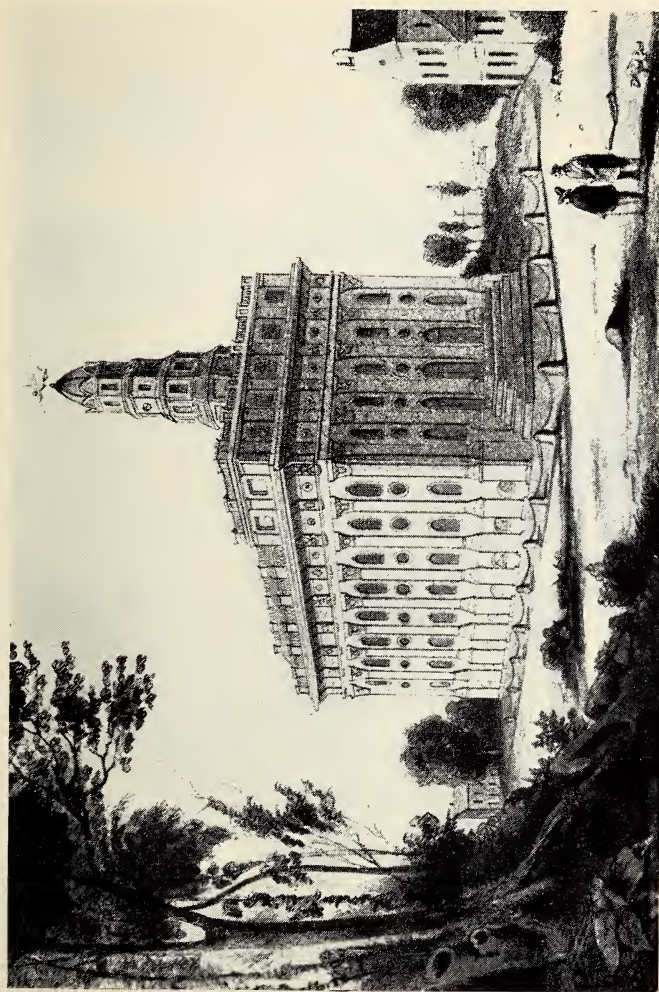
Much more antagonistic was the attitude of the Presbyterian missionaries. As early as 1841, the Reverend B. F. Morris described Joseph as "a compound of ignorance, vanity, arrogance, coarseness, stupidity, and vulgarity." Prophet or impostor, saint or charlatan, religious genius or "outside agent for as wicked a band of men as ever opposed the gospel"³¹ Joseph Smith was the central figure on the stage of Illinois history during the early forties.

In the midst of repeated efforts on the part of Missouri authorities to arrest him on the old charge of treason the Prophet vainly tried in Washington to secure redress for the losses suffered by the Mormons in Missouri. Late in the year 1843 Joseph Smith addressed letters to leading presidential candidates in order to commit them to policies favorable to Mormonism if elected. Receiving evasive answers early the following year, Joseph Smith announced himself as a candidate for the presidency. Mormon publications urged his election until his death. However destiny ruled that bullets, not ballots, were to determine the fate of the Prophet.

Almost from the beginning, serious charges had been

³⁰ "Autobiography of Clarissa Emely Gear Hobbs, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (Jan., 1925), 653.

³¹ Letter to Absolom Peters, Aug. 21, 1841 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.).



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made against the character of the Prophet. Joseph Smith and some other Mormon leaders were accused of sexual immorality. These accusations have been vigorously denied by the Mormon Church. However, John Doyle Lee stated that during the winter of 1844 the Prophet assigned Sidney Jacobs to the task of searching the scriptures for passages that would sanction polygamy.³² When this material was published in pamphlet form there was great excitement among the people. The Prophet immediately denounced the pamphlet. However, Lee stated that this was only for policy's sake and that secretly the leaders practiced polygamy and taught it to such of the "Saints" as they thought ready to receive such "strong doctrine." Whether polygamy was actually practiced at Nauvoo or not, the contemporary belief that it was practiced there was one of the chief factors in precipitating the crisis that ended in the assassination of Joseph Smith.³³

Within Nauvoo there developed an anti-polygamy group headed by Wilson and William Law, wealthy and influential leaders. In order to attack Joseph Smith and his followers, the seceding group published the first issue of their newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, on June 7, 1844. In this issue affidavits by William Law and his wife, Jane, affirmed that Joseph had a "revelation" approving celestial marriage and plural wives and that this doctrine was being secretly taught and practiced.³⁴ The *Expositor* promised further revelations of true conditions at Nauvoo in forthcoming issues.

³² Lee, *The Mormon Menace*, 182-83.

³³ Letter of Joseph M. Grout to Milton Badger, May 4, 1845 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.); also *Ambay Times*, Oct. 23, 1859.

³⁴ *Nauvoo Expositor*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 7, 1844), in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

With the appearance of the *Expositor* Mormon leaders became very much excited. At a hastily convened city council meeting with Prophet Joseph Smith presiding, the Laws and their followers were tried "in absentia." The most serious charges were made against them and the decision to destroy their newspaper was reached. On June 10 the press was destroyed, the Laws having fled from Nauvoo in the meantime.

The destruction of the *Expositor* provided the anti-Mormons with an excuse for the "extermination of the Saints." The Gentiles prepared for war; military companies were organized and equipment purchased. With the Legion likewise preparing to defend Nauvoo, incidents were sure to arise which would provoke actual warfare. Governor Ford in this crisis placed the hastily summoned forces of the anti-Mormons under his own officers and in order to avoid bloodshed called upon the Mormon leaders to surrender for trial.

On June 24, Joseph Smith and members of the Council surrendered. They were lodged in the jail at nearby Carthage. There, through negligence in providing proper guard for the prisoners, a mob stormed the jail on June 27, 1844 and Joseph, the Prophet, and his brother Hyrum were assassinated. Governor Ford can only be condemned for leaving the prisoners in Carthage in Anti-Mormon country and with an inadequate and hostile guard for their defense.

With the death of the Prophet the Mormons at Nauvoo seemed stunned and incapable of action. Leader after leader proclaimed himself as successor to the Prophet only to find himself rejected. In the end it proved to be a struggle between the family of the Prophet and Brigham Young, President of the Twelve, with Young

proving to be the stronger and gaining control at Nauvoo.

It was with considerable anxiety that the Gentiles awaited the outcome of events at Nauvoo, wondering what steps in retaliation might be taken by the Mormons. The Reverend Milton Kimball, after referring to the Mormons as a "piratical society" and blaming them for widespread thefts and outrages, stated:

Nauvoo is now a place of much suffering. An improvident multitude collected into a place of little business, their little money soon spent, they already find it very difficult to find the necessities of life. It is supposed that in the spring many will leave that wretched place where they have found neither the freedom of speech, nor of the press, nor a plenty of bread.³⁵

From the death of the Prophet until the final exodus of the Mormons, Hancock County, with surrounding territory, was the scene of undeclared struggle between Mormons and anti-Mormons. Thefts, burning of buildings, acts of violence and murder by both parties led to a growing conviction that only by expulsion of the Mormons could the problem be solved. In a convention held at Carthage on October 1, 1845, representatives of nine Illinois counties declared that the Mormons must move and recommended the formation of military units in each county "to be ready to act as the occasion may require."

In February, 1846, the Mormon evacuation of Nauvoo began. Under the brilliant leadership of Brigham Young the main faction of the Mormons migrated westward toward the Rocky Mountains. Through deep snows, over frozen streams and rivers, through unbroken wil-

³⁵ Letter to Milton Badger, Feb. 10, 1845 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.).

derness, through cold and heat, through days of hunger, disease and death, the Mormon pioneers moved on. Finally in the great valley a new "Stake of Zion" was established and the foundations for a new and greater city laid.

Meanwhile the Reverend Joseph M. Grout in Hancock County wrote:

The controversy with the Mormons seems to be brought to a close. General order and quiet has reigned in the county since a few days after the battle which induced the Mormons and Semi-Mormons to leave Nauvoo. A few acts of theft have been committed but the offenders have been dealt with promptly according to law. I do not think it possible to create another general excitement here on the subject of Mormonism—certainly not unless a large number of its friends should attempt to return which they hardly could be induced to do. The spirit of enterprise manifests itself at once when the depression's weight is removed. Not more suddenly does water rise in the cylinder of the pump when the piston is raised. Public improvements long neglected are resumed. Several good brick buildings have been put up in Warsaw since the Mormons left and order restored and the erection of many more next year are in contemplation.³⁶

With the departure of the Mormons Nauvoo fell into comparative oblivion. On November 19, 1848 a fire, probably of incendiary origin, burned the great Temple. Later a group of French Socialists, the Icarians, established themselves in Nauvoo, only to fail within a few years. Today Nauvoo is only a remnant of the once great center of Mormonism. Now that steps are being taken by the State of Illinois to preserve Nauvoo as a historic shrine the lover of the romantic may once again stand at the great bend of the river, view century-old homes built by prophets and apostles, and see what, but for man's inhumanity to man, might have been one of the great cities of the state.

³⁶ Letter to Milton Badger, Nov. 25, 1846 (Amer. Home Mis. Soc. Col.).

SHAWNEETOWN

A Chapter in the Indian History of Illinois

BY NORMAN W. CALDWELL

THE early French settlements in the Illinois Country were located among friendly Indians who were found on well-established sites. The infant settlements of the white man at first relied largely upon the protection of the friendly savages who at the same time furnished a vineyard for the labors of the missionary and a source of trade for the *voyageur*. Indeed, the failure of La Salle and Tonti to found a permanent settlement on the Illinois River was chiefly due to their failure to attract any considerable group of Indians to that region which was then harassed by the Iroquois. On the other hand, the mission settlements established by the priests at Cahokia and at Kaskaskia were successful largely because they were founded among long-established and comparatively stable settlements of Indians. The Indian was necessary for the successful colonization of the country by the French.

When the French came to the Illinois Country they came by the Great Lakes route and during the first few years of their occupation this connection with the water routes to the north and east was valuable to their settlements in the region about Kaskaskia. In the meantime, however, Iberville and Bienville had founded the settlement at Biloxi and soon the French were pushing up the Mississippi, now approaching the Illinois Country from

the south. When Antoine Crozat was given the monopoly of the trade of Louisiana in 1712, the Illinois settlements were therefore detached from Canada and joined to the Louisiana jurisdiction. The main reason for this was to give Crozat a region of established trade, though excellent arguments could be advanced to show that the Mississippi was the logical highway from the Illinois Country to the sea.¹

Now there were reasons why the approach from the south found the settlements at Kaskaskia and Cahokia less favorably located than had been the case when the approach had been from the north. One was that the Ohio River was coming to be more and more important as an inland trade route from the northeast, and over this route were coming English traders who were competing with the French for the interior trade. Then, too, the opposition of the Chickasaw who were located in the upper Yazoo Valley and on the lower Tennessee and who were deadly enemies of the French, was becoming a serious menace to the trade route on the Mississippi. Logically, French power in the Illinois Country would be more effective if centered nearer the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, where the approach of the English from the Ohio as well as the menace of the Chickasaw from the Tennessee might be more effectively met. At the same time, French traders, with a strong base in that region, would have better control of the Indian trade there. Moreover, the long trade route up

¹ The Canadian government never became reconciled to the loss of the Illinois settlements to Louisiana, and the licensing of trade in the Illinois Country was never surrendered by the Canadian Governor. The subject of whether the Illinois Country should remain with Louisiana, especially after the lapse of the trade monopolies, was bitterly contested between the two governments. For a detailed discussion of this subject see the author's paper, "The French in the West, 1740-1750" (doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1936). Much of the material used in the preparation of this paper is taken from that work.

the Mississippi would be shortened with the center of trade located so far to the south of Kaskaskia.²

There were obviously very great difficulties standing in the way of the accomplishment of any proposal to found a new post on the lower Ohio. Besides the expense involved in the construction of a strong fort and in the transplanting of a new settlement into that region,³ there was also the problem of attracting friendly Indians. Since the region about the lower Ohio was a sort of no-man's land among the Indians—an extension of Kentucky's "dark and bloody ground" as it were—it would presumably be very difficult to entice any northern tribe to locate in that region, the Chickasaw and the Cherokee being greatly feared. The story of how the French sought to solve this problem and how the Shawnee played into this scheme by moving into this region is the theme of this paper. Incidentally the development of this story also brings out the growing realization, among the people in the Illinois at that time, of the importance of the southern approach in the future settlement of the state. This approach from the south remained the most important until the third decade of the last century when, as we shall see, the northern approach again came into its own.

Fort Chartres, the stronghold of the French in the Illinois, had been built in 1720 on the Mississippi about equidistant from Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The original structure, which was of wood, was becoming dilapi-

² After 1740 there was not a single French post on the Mississippi between the Arkansas Post and Kaskaskia in the Illinois—a distance of about three hundred miles by river. It was on this last long lap of the journey up the river from New Orleans that French convoys were most often attacked by the Chickasaw.

³ Of course it was not advocated that the established settlements at Kaskaskia and Cahokia should be moved to the lower Ohio. The idea was rather that new settlers should be brought in from Canada or from France.

dated and the question of rebuilding the fort came up just as the French were becoming interested in the project of establishing a post on the lower Ohio. It was first decided to rebuild at Kaskaskia, and in 1738 the materials were gathered for reconstruction work there. In the following year, however, this work was suspended, both because Governor Bienville was becoming interested in the project of relocating the fort on the lower Ohio, and also because the contractors at Kaskaskia had been found guilty of fraud in connection with the work there.⁴ Bienville, in considering the location of a post on the lower Ohio had of course advocated that some Indian tribe be induced to settle there. He had attempted to entice the Kickapoo and Piankashaw to go there but they had at first refused, alleging that the ground was subject to floods.⁵ Nevertheless, Bienville continued to work on the scheme, seeing in it a way in which he might check the Chickasaw whom he had not been able to conquer by arms.⁶

The series of attacks by the Chickasaw on the French convoys on the Mississippi and lower Ohio in 1740 and 1741 served to increase the interest of the government in Bienville's project. In 1742 the Minister of Marine ordered Vaudreuil, the successor of Bienville, to make further investigations as to the proposed construction

⁴ The report was that 224 tons of stone, 224 tons of lime, and 26,000 clapboard^s had been gathered at a cost of three times the allotted sum. This material was later disposed of by allowing the parish to use it in the construction of a church. Minister to Bienville and Salmon, Oct. 28, 1740, Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 70: 472-73; Minister to Vaudreuil and Salmon, Oct. 22, 1740, *ibid.*, B, 74: 651.

⁵ The low ground along the rivers was of course a factor in this decision of the tribes, but not the chief one. Fear of enemies was of much greater consideration for the savages.

⁶ Bienville to Minister, April 30, 1741, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 26: 81-87. Bienville's failure to crush the Chickasaw in 1739-1740, after an expensive campaign, had ruined his prestige and was to lead to his resignation in 1742.

of the fort.⁷ Vaudreuil, in his reply, reported favorably on the project both as a means of protecting the water routes from the hostile Indians and also as a check on the advance of the English from the Ohio. He proposed building a stone fort and submitted estimates of its cost.⁸ At this juncture of affairs the Shawnee then living in Pennsylvania suddenly migrated to southern Illinois, thus seemingly solving one angle of the French problem. The reasons for this migration and its importance at this time demand our serious consideration.

The Shawnee belonged linguistically to the central Algonquian stock and their name comes from *shawunogi*, meaning southerners. In language they were thus related to the Sauk-Fox group, but they had long lived in the region of the upper Tennessee River and Carolinas. The white men found these Indians living in two groups—one in the region of the present South Carolina and the other on the Tennessee River—separated by the Cherokee who lived between them. The Carolina Shawnee were called Savannahs by early settlers, hence the name of the river. Likewise the Tennessee River was long called by the French *La Rivière des Chouanons*. About 1690 the Carolina Shawnee began to migrate northward and finally settled on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. This migration was largely due to the fact that the English alliance with the Catawba in Virginia had alienated the Shawnee. Later, some of these Shawnee, having quarreled with the Delaware, removed to the Monongahela River not far from where Pittsburgh now

⁷ Minister to Vaudreuil and Salmon, Nov. 15, 1742, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 74: 683-84.

⁸ Vaudreuil to Minister, New Orleans (undated), Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 28: 245; same to same, New Orleans, Nov. 4, 1745, *ibid.*, 29: 66-69. See also Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans L'ouest et dans le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1888), VI: 661-62.

stands. Some of the western Shawnee are also thought to have moved to the upper Ohio region after a devastating war with the Cherokee in the Tennessee Valley, and probably some of these people had lived for a short time near the present Shawneetown in Illinois, prior to 1730. The rest of the western Shawnee seem to have drifted southward among the Alabama Indians.⁹

At the time of the migration of the Shawnee from the Monongahela to Shawneetown they numbered not more than two hundred fighting men.¹⁰ Though nominal allies of the French these Indians, being located so near the Iroquois, were subject to English influence and constantly received English traders and envoys. One of the influential members of the tribe, Peter Chartier, a French half-breed, was much interested in the fur trade with the Pennsylvanians, and thus was the leader of the element which was friendly to the English. In order to maintain French control over the Shawnee, the Canadian authorities had, as early as 1739, considered moving that tribe to the westward and had consulted with the chiefs on this subject. Since the Shawnee had recently been subject to attacks from hostile neighbors, and since their kinsmen, the western Shawnee, were already living in the south, the French proposal was received with favor.¹¹ But Chartier's influence with the tribe remained the chief obstacle to the consummation of the project. At one time the French Governor even went so far as to suggest the assassination of the half-breed, despite the fact that Chartier went down to Montreal in 1740, along

⁹ F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Washington, 1912), II: 530-36.

¹⁰ Memoir of 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 30: 258-59.

¹¹ Governor Beauharnois to Minister of Marine, Quebec, Oct. 9, 1739, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 71: 49-50; the Governor to the Shawnee, Aug. 1, 1739, *ibid.*, 51.

with the other chiefs, and there promised to use his influence to secure the migration of the tribe.¹²

The French at first hoped to remove the Shawnee to the neighborhood of Detroit using them to supplant the Huron whom the government was trying to persuade to go to the vicinity of Montreal. The Huron had also shown signs of defection from French allegiance and it was thought that they could be more easily controlled if located closer to the seat of governmental authority. Therefore, in 1740, the Governor sent a trader and Indian agent named Poudret to the Shawnee. Poudret found them much inclined to undertake the migration at that time because of recent attacks which the Flat Heads had made against them.¹³

In the following year, however, the chiefs refused to go to Detroit, alleging that some of their people had once been burned there and that they could not go to live where their blood had been shed. They pretended to prefer to go to a place called the Prairie of Mascoutens, which was probably some site on the east bank of the Wabash River. With the Governor's approval the French then attempted to get the tribe to migrate to this second site. Though the French distrusted Chartier and sent out much propaganda against him, it is not certain that the half-breed was at this particular time on very good

¹² Minister to Beauharnois, Versailles, May 2, 1740, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 70: 342; the Shawnee to the Governor, June 25, 1740, *ibid.*, C11A, 94: 62-63. Every spring it was the custom for the loyal chiefs to go down to Montreal where the Governor distributed presents among them and harangued them on their duties as French allies.

¹³ Beauharnois to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 1, 1740, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 74: 80-84; same to same, Oct. 21, 1740, *ibid.*, 96. The term "Flat Heads" (in French, *Tetes Plates*) was generally applied to the Muskogean peoples. They had the custom of binding the heads of their infants between two boards until the skull had been flattened. Among the Choctaw this custom was almost universally practiced; the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Seminole, and others practiced it to a lesser degree. Since the Choctaw were loyal to the French, the Cherokee or Chickasaw are probably referred to in this instance.

terms with the English, for we know that the Pennsylvanians feared trouble with the Shawnee, and indeed parties from that tribe did make raids on the Maryland frontier during that time.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Shawnee soon changed their minds about going to the Prairie of the Mascoutens, and next talked of removing to a site near the mouth of the Tennessee River where some of them had once dwelt.¹⁵ This site did not meet the approval of the French, despite their desire to get some friendly tribe to locate in that region, because they did not yet have permission to locate the post on the lower Ohio. Accordingly, they feared that they would not be prepared to supply the Shawnee with merchandise as a consequence of which the English would still come to them from the Tennessee Valley. After much negotiation, the Shawnee finally agreed to go to the Wabash Country, and in 1743 they signed a treaty to that effect. The trader Poudret and another Frenchman were to assist the tribe in the migration and to help them to light the fire in their new home.¹⁶ While preparations were being made for the removal, the Governor sent out from Montreal extra war parties against the Flat Heads to prevent the Shawnee from being molested.¹⁷ That the French policy was bearing fruit is shown by the fact that in 1744 at the council which the English

¹⁴ Beauharnois to Minister, Quebec, Sept. 17, 1741, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 34: 207-208; Memoir on Indians, 1742, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 78: 388-92; Council Minutes, July 19, 1742, *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IV: 586-87; see also Weiser's report of his conference with the Shawnee in *ibid.*, 640-46.

¹⁵ The Shawnee to the Governor, Aug. 3, 1742, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 77: 259.

¹⁶ Beauharnois to Minister, Quebec, Sept. 24, 1742, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 77: 108-112. For the treaty see the Governor's speech to the Shawnee, July 13, 1743, *ibid.*, C11A, 79: 102. Beauharnois was now confident of being able to effect the removal of the tribe. Beauharnois to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 13, 1743, *ibid.*, 171-72.

¹⁷ Minister to Beauharnois, April 26, 1743, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 76: 300; Beauharnois to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 13, 1743, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, IX: 1097.

held with the Indians at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, only one Shawnee was reported present, and the English were greatly puzzled as to what the tribe was doing. Some feared that the Delaware and Shawnee were banding together against the English, or that both were planning to migrate to the West.¹⁸

The outbreak of war with the English in 1744 necessarily caused the French to give less attention to the project of the removal of the Shawnee to the West. In fact, the Shawnee took advantage of the Governor's embarrassment to raise their demands, asking for additional protection in the form of a large French force. They also refused to send raiding parties against the English frontiers. The French could do no more than send the trader Poudret back to the tribe to keep them in as good humor as possible. On the other hand, Chartier now entered into friendly relations with the French, the English having by this time distrusted him. In 1744 he sold out his trading interests in Pennsylvania and, according to English reports, was received into the French forces, being granted a reward and commission for this action.¹⁹

The following year, apparently without official French cognizance, the Shawnee suddenly began their migration westward. Moving northward to Lake Erie, they followed the south shore of the lake to the present Sandusky, Ohio, where some English traders were located. Taking these men prisoners, they then turned southward and followed the Wabash River to the Ohio, locating first somewhere on the north bank of the river between the mouth of the Wabash and the spot opposite

¹⁸ Council Minutes, July 31, 1744, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, IV: 739-40.

¹⁹ Beauharnois to Minister, Oct. 11, 1744, Arch. Nat., Col., C11A, 81: 170-72; Council Minutes, April 25, 1745, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, IV: 757-58.

the mouth of the Tennessee. The English traders were surrendered to the French at Fort Chartres, with the exception of two who had been killed.²⁰

Though the migration of the Shawnee to the lower Ohio had given the French a friendly tribe there, it was nevertheless a great embarrassment to them at this time because they could not immediately supply them with goods. The great difficulty of keeping merchandise for the trade in the Illinois Country was well-known, and the additional demands of a new tribe in that region, especially when a war was being waged and supplies were dear and irregular, created a very serious problem indeed. There were also apprehensions that the problem would become aggravated when other Indians began to talk of moving into that region. In 1746, M. de Ber-tet, Commandant at the Illinois, reported that the Kick-apoo and Mascoutens were considering a migration thither, and Vaudreuil, in the following year, reported that the Sauk, Foxes, and Winnebago had also expressed a desire to come.²¹ But as we have noted, the French could not adequately furnish even the Shawnee with merchandise and that tribe soon began to talk of a further migration. To forestall this the French did all they could to use the Shawnee as a medium to negotiate for peace with the Chickasaw. If peace could be established with this deadly foe, it would still be possible to keep the Shawnee on the lower Ohio and supply their needs.²²

²⁰ Vaudreuil (Governor of Louisiana) to Minister, New Orleans, Oct. 31, 1745, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 29: 89-90. Alvord's belief that the French were privy to the sudden migration of the Shawnee is seemingly erroneous. See C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818 (Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield, 1920), 187.

²¹ In 1746 the Shawnee were encamped about three leagues below the junction of the Tennessee and the Ohio on the north bank of the latter stream. Vaudreuil to Minister, Feb. 6, 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 29: 28-30; same to same, March 22, 1747, *ibid.*, 21: 45-46. The name "Shawneetown" comes from the fact that these Indians once lived in that region.

²² French success even here depended upon a more plentiful supply of merchandise.

But even this failed when the King announced in 1746 that he could not allow the construction of the fort on account of the lack of funds.²³ Then too, a bitter controversy which had arisen between Vaudreuil and Le Normant, the new intendant, had made it impossible to send even the normal amount of goods to the posts for the Indian trade that year.²⁴ Although later in the year the King did grant conditional permission to build the fort, no money was made available and Vaudreuil could do nothing about it.²⁵ In the spring of the following year De Bertet reported that only plentiful supplies of goods, sent immediately, could keep the Shawnee on the lower Ohio and stop the influence of the English among them.²⁶

In 1748 the King withdrew his permission for the building of the fort and the project was dropped from consideration.²⁷ As for the Shawnee, they soon left southern Illinois, some of them moving southward to

If peace were made with the Chickasaw, would there not be an extra tribe to supply? Vaudreuil to Minister, March 9, 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 29: 23-24; same to same, Mobile, April 12, 1746, *ibid.*, 30:58.

²³ Minister to Vaudreuil, April 30, 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 83: 18.

²⁴ Vaudreuil accused Le Normant of selling goods to people in lower Louisiana which should have been sent to the posts for the Indian trade. Minister to Vaudreuil, April 30, 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 83: 38; Vaudreuil to Minister, Nov. 20, 1746, *ibid.*, C13A, 30: 72-75; same to same, Mobile, April 12, 1746, *ibid.*, 60-61.

²⁵ Minister to Vaudreuil, Oct. 10, 1746, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 83: 40.

²⁶ Vaudreuil to Minister, April 8, 1747, Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, VI: 662-64.

²⁷ Minister to Vaudreuil, Feb. 23, 1748, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 87: 1. Of interest at this time was a proposal by a French nobleman to found a colony—at the mouth of the Ohio—in a private capacity. This scheme proposed the construction of a strong fort with a series of adjacent smaller posts. A number of settlements were to be placed about these strongholds, the settlers being given land under seigniorial tenure. It was urged that this plan would give the French government the bulwark it needed in that region at a minimum expense because the King was asked only to furnish transportation and certain other expenses which it was estimated would not amount to more than 30,000 livres. Nothing seems to have come from the proposal which is found joined to some of the papers of Madame de Pompadour, the famous mistress of Louis XV. Evidently the person interested in this scheme was trying to use the strong influence of this interesting woman to gain the approval of the King. Memoir of M. le Bailly, Mgr., joined to a letter of M. Poisson to his daughter, Mme Pompadour, Dec. 17, 1749, Arch. Nat., Col., C13A, 33: 219-21.

join their kinsmen among the Alabama Indians and the others going up the Ohio to Scioto; here, joined by renegade Delaware and others, they formed a village which soon became a trade center for the English in that region.²⁸ Efforts of the French to persuade them to return to Louisiana or to go to Detroit were of no avail.²⁹

From the presence of the Shawnee at that site the modern Shawneetown gets its name, though the white man was not yet to build there. In the early years of the following decade we know that the French contented themselves with strengthening Fort Chartres, and though they did build Fort Massac at the site of the present Metropolis in 1757, it was then too late to carry out the real concentration of French power in that general region. Indeed French power was already passing into English hands. In 1765 when George Croghan visited the site of the old Shawneetown, on his mission of good will among the western Indians, he but casually mentioned it as "a place called the Old Shawnesse Village, some of that nation having formerly lived there."³⁰ Little did the great English Indian agent dream that this place had but lately held a position of the highest potential importance to the French in their life and death struggle to maintain their hold upon the Mississippi Valley.

Nevertheless, this tradition of the importance of the region about Shawneetown survived. The approach from the south which the French had come to emphasize

²⁸ Minister to La Galissonnière, Feb. 23, 1748, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 87: 31; Minister to La Jonquière, May 4, 1749, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII: 19-22.

²⁹ Minister to Vaudreuil, Oct. 25, 1747, Arch. Nat., Col., B, 85: 20; Vaudreuil to Minister, April 8, 1747, *ibid.*, C13A, 31: 53-54; Minister to Vaudreuil, Sept. 30, 1750, *ibid.*, B, 91:21.

³⁰ See Croghan's journal in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904), I: 137-38.

too late for their own benefit was the approach used by settlers coming from the east and south to Illinois. Indeed, it was not until the Erie Canal had been built that the approach from the north came into its own. Therefore, Shawneetown became in one sense the place which the French had visioned it was to be, and a traveler as early as 1808 reported finding there twenty-four cabins of the new inhabitants of Shawneetown, clustered about the two old burying-pits of the Shawnee—whose clearing could still be seen in the form of a patch of second-growth timber surrounded by the virgin forest. The inhabitants were engaged in a thriving salt business from the neighboring salines.³¹ Shawneetown quickly became one of the most important towns in Illinois, and for many years fulfilled the dreams of Bienville who saw in that site the logical point for the location of the metropolis of the Illinois Country.

³¹ See Fortescue Cuming's account in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV: 270-71.

FRONTIER SKETCHES

BY C. C. CARTER

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II. THE SCHOOLMASTER*

There in his noisy mansion, skilled to rule
The village master taught his little school;
A man severe he was, and stern to view,
I knew him well and every truant knew;

Yet he was kind; or if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault;
The village all declar'd how much he knew;
'Twas certain he could write and cipher too.

—Goldsmith, "The Deserted Village."

IN the progress of society the physical wants are felt before the intellectual. Men appreciate the necessity of covering their backs and lining their stomachs before storing their minds, and they naturally provide a shelter from the storms of heaven before they seek, with other learning, a knowledge of the heavenly bodies. That is to say, man appreciates a house to live in and food and clothing before he takes much interest in Sanskrit and philosophy.

This view of the difficulties of existence not only is necessary but practical. The rudest social system comprises something of the mechanical arts. Indeed, some thinkers seem to believe that all social systems are only mechanical contrivances of a subtler nature, themselves subject to the laws of mechanical mathematics. Later,

* The first article in this series, "The Politician," appeared in the *Journal* for March, 1939.

government begins to advance to the status of a science, commerce follows the advancement of legal supremacy, and the education of the common citizen comes after the recognition of his social and political rights. So the justice of the peace, among other legal functionaries, indicated subjection more or less complete to the regulation of law, the peddler in the Country of the Illinois represented the beginnings of commercial interest, and the schoolmaster succeeded him in the natural order of social beginnings.

The mind of an uneducated person, however strong in itself, is like an army of undisciplined troops—a crowd of chaotic, shoeless, and often misdirected elements. It may have talent, possibly genius, but it has not order. Order has been said by someone to be “heaven’s first law.” Be this so or not, the mind forms its opinion and gets its directive energy from the order it gives the impressions that it receives from the outward world.

To bring these into subjection—to enable the mind to bind them, with anything like their native force, to a given purpose—a prescribed “training” is necessary. This it is that education supplies. If you can give the mind the habit of attention all its available power will be used. Through this faculty even dull minds are frequently able to mount the car of triumph, and ride swiftly past so many who are immeasurably their superiors. The first element of the discipline which develops this power is submission to control; and without this subordination no school can exist. Thus the first lesson that the children learn from their schoolmaster is the most valuable acquisition they can make.

But it was no easy task to teach this principle to the

sturdy children of the early western settlers. In this as in all other things the difficulty of the labor was in exact proportion to its necessity. The peculiarities of the people and the state of the country were not favorable to the establishment of the limited monarchy necessary to successful teaching. In the first place, the parents undervalued what they called "mere book larnin'." For themselves they found more use for a rifle than a pen; they naturally thought it more of an accomplishment to be able to scalp a squirrel at one hundred paces than to read the natural history of the animal in the "picture book." They were enthusiastic also on the subject of independence; and though they could and did control their children sternly enough at home, they were apt to look with a jealous eye on any attempt to establish dominion elsewhere.

The children partook largely of the free wild spirit of their fathers. They were very prompt to resist anything like an encroachment upon their privileges or rights, and were of course very certain to consider even salutary control an attempt to assert despotism. History contains no record, whatever the annals of fiction may display, of a boy with much spirit submitting without a murmur to the authority of the schoolmaster. If such a prodigy of enlightened humility ever existed, he certainly did not live in the Country of the Illinois.

But a more important difficulty than either of these was the almost entire want of money in the country; and without this there was little encouragement for the effort to overcome other obstacles. Money may be only a representative of value, but its absence operates marvelously like the want of the value itself; and the primitive people of those days, and especially that class

to which the schoolmaster belonged, had a habit, however illogical, of considering it a desirable commodity *per se*.

All these impediments, however, could be conquered in the course of time. The country was improving in social tone; parents would eventually take some pride even in the accomplishments of patience and gentleness. As for the pecuniary difficulty, that is only the absence of a medium; and instead of money, the master could receive board, clothing, and the agricultural products of the country. So many barrels of corn or bushels of wheat "per quarter" might not be so conveniently handled, but they were quite as easily counted as an equal number of dollars; and this primitive mode of payment was practiced in many rural districts. To counterbalance its inconvenience of bulk the "currency" possessed a double value over the more refined medium of exchange now in use; it was not liable to counterfeits, and the bank from which it issued was not liable to "break."

Almost all teachers of that day were what the western people of the Illinois Country called "Yankees," born and bred east of the Hudson, descendants of the sturdy Puritans and distinguished by the peculiarities of that strongly-marked people, in personal appearance, language, manners, and style and tone of thought. Like the peddlers, they were generally on the sunny side of thirty, full of the hopeful energy which belongs to that period of life, and only submitting to the labors and privations of the present because through these they looked to a future of better and brighter things.

The causes which led to their emigration were as many and various as the adventurers among whom they

moved. Most of them were mere boys—young Whittingtons whom the bells did not ring back to become lord mayors. Few had even the limited possessions of that celebrated worthy, young Stephen A. Douglas of Vermont, who taught school in Scott County, and whose monument now stands in Winchester, a memento of the fortunes that awaited few of the schoolmasters of that period. Thus destitute, they wandered off, many hundreds of miles, to see the world and make their fortunes at an age when the youth of the present day are just beginning to think about going to college. They brought neither money, letters of introduction, nor bills of exchange; they expected to find neither acquaintances nor relatives. But they knew—for it was one of the wise maxims of their unromantic fathers—that industry and honesty must soon gather friends, and that all other desirable things would soon follow. They had great and just confidence in their own abilities to “get along,” and if they did not actually think that the whole world belonged to them, they were well assured that in an incredibly short time they would be able to possess a respectable part of it.

A genuine specimen of the class to which most of the early schoolmasters belonged never felt any misgivings about his own success, and never hesitated to assume any position in life. Neither pride nor modesty was ever suffered to interfere with his actions. He would take charge of a numerous school when he could do little more than write his own name, just as he would have undertaken to run a steamboat, or command an army, when he had never studied engineering or strategy. Nor would he have failed in either capacity. A week's application would have made him master of a

steam engine, or proficient (after the present manner of proficiency) in tactics. As for his school, he could himself learn at night what he was to teach others on the next day. This was neither conceit nor ignorant presumption, for one of these men was seldom known to fail in anything he undertook. If he did fail, he was never found to be cast down by defeat, and the resiliency of his nature justified his confidence.

The pursuit of a vocation for a long time is apt to warp one's nature to its inequalities, and as the character gradually assumes the peculiar aspect, the personal appearance changes in a corresponding degree and direction. Thus the blacksmith becomes brawny, square and sturdy, and the characteristic swing of his arm gives tone to his whole bearing. The silversmith acquires a peering, cunning look as if he were always examining delicate machinery. The physician becomes solemn, stately, pompous and mysterious, and speaks like "SIR ORACLE" as if he were eternally administering a pill or enjoining a regimen of drugs and starvation. The lawyer assumes a keen, alert and suspicious manner, as if constantly in pursuit of latent perjury, or fearing that his adversary might discover a "flaw in his case." So on through the category of human vocations.

But among all these that which marks its votaries most clearly is school teaching. There seems to be an antagonism between this employment and all manner of neatness, and the circle of the schoolmaster's female acquaintances never included the Graces. Attention to personal decoration is usually though not always in an inverse ratio to mental garniture, and an artistically tied cravat seems inconsistent with a well stored mind. A mind which is directed toward the evolution of its

own powers has but little time to waste in adorning the body, and a fashionable costume would appear to cramp the intellect as did the iron vessel the genius of the Arabian tales.

To this rule the schoolmaster of the early days in the West was no exception. He might not be as learned, as purely intellectual, as some of our modern college professors, but he was as ungraceful and as awkwardly clad as the most slovenly of all. Indeed, he came from a stock that has never been noted for any of the lighter accomplishments or "carnal graces." At no period of the Puritan's eventful history has his type been a remarkably elegant one. The men so named have been better known for bravery than taste, for zeal than polish; and since there is always a correspondence between habits of thought and feeling and external appearances, the physique of the race is as remarkable for rigor of muscle and angularity of outline as for accuracy of proportion and smoothness of finish. Neither Apollo nor Adonis was in any way related to the family; and if either had been, the probability is that his kindred would have disowned him.

Properly to represent his lineage, therefore, the schoolmaster could be neither dandy nor dancing master. As if to hold him to his integrity, Nature had neglected to give him any temptation, in his own person, to assume either of these respectable characters. The tailor that could shape a coat to fit his shoulders never yet handled shears; and he would have been as ill at ease in a pair of fashionable pantaloons, as if they had been lined with cockleburs. He was generally above medium height with a very decided stoop, as if in the habit of carrying burdens. A long, high nose with deep blue

eyes, and coarse, uneven hair of a faded weather-stained color, gave his face an expression answering to his lathy outline. He was always as thin as if he had been flattened out in a rolling mill. His complexion was seldom florid, and not often decidedly pale. A sort of sallow discoloration was its prevailing hue, like that which marks the countenance of a consumer of coarse whisky and strong tobacco. But these failings were not the cause of his cadaverous look; for a faithful representative of the class held them both in commendable abhorrence. They were not the vices of his nature.

There was another subdivision of the class, a secondary type not so often observed but common enough to entitle it to a brief notice. The representative of this type was generally short, square and thick—the latitude bearing a better proportion to the longitude than in his lank brother—but never approaching anything like roundness. With this attractive figure he had a complexion of a decidedly bilious darkness and what is commonly called a dish face. His nose was depressed between the eyes, an arrangement that dragged the point upwards in the most cruel manner but gave it an expression ludicrous and impertinent. A pair of small, round, black eyes encompassed—like two little feudal fortresses, each by the moat—with a circle of yellowish white, peered out from under brows like battlements. Coarse black hair, always cut short, and standing erect so as to present something of the appearance of a *chevaux de frise*, protected a hard round head—a shape most appropriate to his lineage—while with equal propriety, ears of corresponding magnitude stood boldly forth to assert their claim to notice.

Both these types were distinguished by large feet

which no boot could enclose, and hands broad beyond the compass of any glove. Neither was ever known to get drunk, to grow fat, to engage in a game of chance, or to lose his appetite—it became the teacher of “ingenious youth” to preserve an exemplary bearing before those whom we was intending to benefit—while respectable appearance and proper appreciation of the good things of life were the alpha and omega of his system of morality. But the schoolmaster—and we now include both subdivisions of the class—was not deficient as an example in many other things to all who wished to learn the true principles of living. Among other things he was distinguished by a rigid ironbound economy—a characteristic which it might have been well to impart to many of his pupils.

This maxim of economy was in all probability an inherited tendency from his ancestors from beyond the Alleghenies. The most typical example of this economic tendency to live “within your means,” so family history tells us, was shown by the poet Whittier, who when at school made a kind of slipper to “pay expenses” and figured that he would have just twenty-five cents at the end of the term, a prodigy which he actually performed. But the attempt to impart this principle to the sons and daughters of the pioneers of the far West was a total failure. That which the discreet master denominated “prudence” the extravagant and wrong-headed scholar inclined to term “meanness;” and historical truth compels us to admit that the rigor of grim economy sometimes wore an aspect of questionable austerity. Notwithstanding this, when we reflect upon the scanty compensation afforded the benefactor of the rising generation, we cannot blame his penurious tenacity

any more than we can censure an empty wine cask for not giving forth nectar which we have never poured into it. If, accordingly, he was out at the elbows, we must conclude that it was because he had not the money to buy a new coat. If he never indulged himself in any of the luxuries of life, it was probably because the purchase of the necessities had brought him near to the bottom of his purse. He was, moreover, always a close "calculator," and with a wisdom worthy of all imitation, never mortgaged the present for the convenience of the future.

Indeed this power of calculation was not only a talent but a passion; you would have thought that his progenitors had been arithmeticians since the time of Noah. He could figure up any "proposition" whatsoever; but was especially great upon the question of how much he could save from his scanty salary and yet live to the end of the year. In fact it was only a living that he cared for. The useful to him was always superior to the ornamental; and whatever was not absolutely necessary he considered wasteful and extravagant. Even the profusion of western hospitality was in his eyes a crime against the law of prudence, and he could as soon forgive a breach of good morals as a violation of this his favorite rule. As might have been expected, he carried his principle with him into the schoolroom, and was averse to teaching anything beyond what could certainly *pay*. He rigidly eschewed embellishment, and adorned his pupils with no graceful accomplishments. It might be that he never taught anything above the useful branches of education because he had never learned more himself, but it is certain that he would not have imparted merely polite learning had his own

training enabled him to do so. Not only did he have a high contempt for only "flimsy" things; he was not employed or paid to teach rhetoric or *belles-lettres*, and on "principle" he never gave more in return than the value of the money he received.

With this reservation his duties were always thoroughly performed, for neither by nature, education, nor lineage, was he likely to slight any recognized obligation. He devoted his time and talents to his school as completely as if he had derived from it the income of a bishop; and the iron constitution of his body and mind, peculiar to his race, enabled him to endure a greater amount of continuous application than any other man. Indeed, his powers of endurance were quite surprising, and the fiber of his mind was as tough as his body. Even upon a quality so valuable as this he never prided himself; for, excepting the boast of race, which was historical and justifiable, he had no pride. Still, he had but slight veneration for men or their opinions or feelings, and he would sometimes pronounce a judgment in a tone of superiority justly offensive. But he possessed the uncommon virtue of sincerity. He thoroughly believed in the infallibility of his own opinions; and for this his loftiness of tone might be forgiven.

The most important opinions expressed were upon religious subjects, for Jews, Puritans and Spaniards have always been decided controversialists. His theology was grim, solid, and angular, and he was as combative as one of Cromwell's disputatious troopers. In his capacious pocket he always carried a copy of the New Testament, as of old the carnal controversialist bore a sword buckled to his side. Thus armed he was a genuine polemical "swashbuckler," and would whip out his

Testament, as the brave did his weapon, to cut you in two without ceremony. He could carve you into numerous pieces and season you with scriptural salt and pepper. The value of his triumph was enhanced by the consideration that it was won by no meretricious consideration or rhetorical flourish, for the ease of his gesticulation was such as you see in the arms of a windmill, and his enunciation was as nasal and monotonous as that of the Reverend Eleazer Poundtext under whose ministration he had been brought up in godliness.

But he possessed other accomplishments besides that of the polemicist. He was not, it is true, overloaded with the learning of the "schools." In fact, he was quite ignorant of some branches of knowledge which he imparted to his pupils. This, however, he never allowed to become apparent, for as we have intimated, he would frequently acquire at night the lessons which he was to teach on the morrow. But time was seldom wasted among the people from which he sprang, and this want of preparation denoted that his leisure hours had been occupied in seeking other acquirements. Among these the most elegant, if not the most useful, was music. His favorite instrument was the flute. In *David Copperfield* Dickens describes a certain flute player, a tutor by the name of Mell, concerning whom and the rest of mankind he expresses the rash opinion, "after many years of reflection," that "nobody ever could have played worse." But Dickens never saw or heard the first schoolmasters of the Illinois Country perform on the aforesaid instrument; therefore he never experienced the detestable performance in the superlative degree exhibited to the youngsters of the pioneer. There are instruments upon which even an unskillful performer can

make tolerable music, but the flute is not one of them. The man who thus murders music is a malefactor not entitled to the "benefit of clergy," and our early schoolmaster did murder it in the most inhuman manner. But let it be said in his defense that he never received any scientific training. He had not been "under the tuition" of the celebrated "Signor Wheeziana" nor had he profited by "the invaluable instruction of the unrivaled Bellosblower," and it is doubtful if he would have gained very much advantage from them had he had the opportunity.

The schoolmaster knew that in order to make a noise on a flute, or anywhere else for that matter, he must blow, and blow he did like Boreas. He always carried the instrument in his pocket, and on being asked to play—a piece of politeness for which he always looked—he drew it out with the solemnity of visage with which a tender-hearted sheriff produces a death warrant, and while he screwed the joints together sighed like a blast furnace. He usually deposited himself on the door-sill—a favorite seat for him—and collecting the younger members of the family about him, poured forth his concentrated strains of mournfulness. He invariably selected the most mournful and melancholy tunes, playing them with profound solemnity. When he ventured on secular music, he never performed anything more lively than "The Mistletoe Bough" or "Barbara Allen" and into each he threw a spirit so much more dismal than the original as almost to induce his hearers to imitate the example of the disconsolate "Barbara" and "turn their faces to the wall" in despair of ever again being able to muster a smile. He was not a scientific musician, but music was not a science among the teachers of the

pioneers, though the undertone of melancholy feeling, to which all sweet sounds appeal, was as easily reached among them as other people. Their wants in this as in other things were very easily satisfied—they were susceptible to pleasure from anything that was in the least commendable—and not feeling obliged to condemn nine true notes because of the tenth false one, they allowed themselves to enjoy the best music they could get without thinking of the damage that was being done to their critical reputation.

A limerick in the form of a questionnaire put to one of these disciples of the flute by two of his students comes down to us from a century ago; whether it was answered or not we have no knowledge:

A tutor who tooted the flute,
Tried to teach two young tooters to toot
Said the two to the tutor,
"Is it harder to toot, or
To tutor two tooters to toot?"

But the flute was not the only means of pleasing within the schoolmaster's reach, for he could flatter as well as if the souls of ten courtiers had transmigrated into his single body. He might not do it quite so gracefully as one of these, nor with phrases as well chosen or as correctly pronounced, but what he said was always cunningly adapted to the character of the person whom he desired to move. He had a deal of "candid courtesy," especially for the women; and though his sturdy manhood and his excellent opinion of himself, both of which came to him from his ancestors, usually preserved him from the charge of servility, he was sometimes a cozener whose conscience annoyed him with very few scruples. Occasionally he might be seen fawning on the rich, but

it was not—as it usually is with the parasites of rich people—because he thought Dives more respectable on account of his money. On the contrary, he believed that the opulent possessed what the indigent wanted, and that the shortest road of cupidity lay through the region of vanity. There was none of that servility which Mr. Carlisle has attempted to dignify with the name of “hero worship,” for the rich man was rather a bird to be plucked than a “hero” to be worshipped. And though it may seem that I do the schoolmaster little honor by the distinction, I cannot but think cupidity a more manly trait than servility, the beast of prey more respectable than the hound.

But the schoolmaster’s obsequiousness was more in manner than in inclination, and found excuse in the dependency of his circumstances. It has long been the custom of the world to undervalue his services, and in all times teaching and poverty have been inseparable companions. Nobody ever cared how poorly he was dressed, how laborious his life, how few his comforts, and if he failed to attend to his own interests by all the arts in his power no one certainly would perform the office for him. He was expected to make himself generally useful without being particular about his compensation. He was willing to do the one, but was naturally averse to the other. That which justice would not give him, he managed to procure by stratagem. His manners, therefore, acquired the characteristics we have enumerated.

He was also very officious—a peculiarity which might perhaps be derived from his parentage, but which was never repressed by his occupation. The desire to make himself agreeable, and his high opinions of his

own ability to do so, rendered his tone and bearing very familiar; but this was also a trait which he shared with his race, and one that has contributed as much as any other to bring the people called "Yankees" into contempt in the West. The men of that section were not themselves reserved, and hated nothing more than ceremonious politeness, but they liked to be the first to make advances, and their demonstrations were all hearty, blunt, and open. They therefore disliked anything that had an insinuating tone, and the man who attempted to ingratiate himself with them, whether with his elaboration or sidelong familiarity, at once armed them against him.

The early schoolmaster was inquisitive. To this the westerners decidedly objected. They had little curiosity themselves and seldom asked impertinent questions. When they did so it was almost always for the purpose of insulting the men to whom they were talking and rarely to make themselves agreeable. The habit of asking numerous questions was therefore apt to prejudice them against men whose characteristics might be in other respects very estimable; and it was acknowledged that vulgar and obtrusive impertinence was an unfortunate accompaniment to an introduction. But the schoolmaster never meant to be impertinent. He was far from being quarrelsome (except with his scholars), and the idea that anyone could be otherwise than pleased with his notice, however given, never entered his mind. Though his questions were for the most part asked to gratify a constitutional curiosity, he was actuated in some degree also by the notion that his condescension would be acceptably interpreted by those whom he thus favored. But like many other benevolent men who put

force upon their inclination for the benefit of their neighbors, he was mistaken in his "calculations," and where he considered himself a benefactor he was by others pronounced a bore.

The fact was that he possessed some versatility, and like most men of various powers, he was prone to think himself a much greater man than he really was. He was not peculiarly fitted to shine as a gallant "in hall or bower" but had he been the climax of knightly qualities, the very impersonation of beauty, grace and accomplishment, he would have been no better adapted than in his own estimation he already was to please the fancy of a lady. He was distastefully unconscious of every imperfection, and displayed himself before what he thought the admiring gaze of all dames and demoiselles as proudly as if he had been the all-accomplished victor in some passage of arms. Yet he carried himself, in outward appearance, as meekly as the humblest Christian and took credit to himself accordingly. He seldom pressed his advantages to the utter subjugation of the sighing dames but comported himself with commendable forbearance toward the weak and defenseless whom his perfection had disarmed. He was as unmerciful as he was irresistible, as considerate as he was beautiful.

"What a saint of a knight is the knight of St. John." The personal advantages which he thought made him so dangerous to the peace of woman were consecrated, thus, by his saintly piety. For—as it became him to be, both in the character of a man and that of a descendant of the Puritans—he was always habited in the "livery of heaven." Some ill-natured and suspicious people were inclined to call his exemplary "walk" hypocriti-

cal and stigmatize his pious "conversation" as cant. But the ungodly world has always persecuted the righteous, and the schoolmaster was correct in attributing their sneers to the rebuke which his example gave to their wickedness.

And who shall blame him if, in the weary intervals of a laborious and thankless profession, he sometimes eked out the want of inspiration by a godly snuffle? True piety reduces even the weapons of a scorner to the service of religion, and the Citadel of the Gloomy Kingdom is bombarded with the artillery of Satan. Thus the nose, which is so serviceable in a devilish and unchristian sneer, is elevated by a saint-like zeal to the expression of a devout whine; and this is the only satisfactory explanation which has ever been given of the connection between the nasal and the religious.

That the pioneer educator had a herculean task to perform there can be no doubt. That he performed it well there is abundant evidence. The proof lies in the rapidity with which the people of Illinois became educated and acquired the social and educational prestige that has distinguished them among the people of the nation and world.

The early history of the education of the young of the pioneer is fraught with many tales of difficulties. Encounters more or less serious were a part of the introduction of discipline in the schools of Illinois. Teachers were only human, and the "scholars" (that is what they called them in the days of which I speak) objected strenuously to laying aside their wild habits and subjecting themselves to the "rules" of school or any other "rules" that curtailed their freedom of action or speech. This they came rightfully by from their parents, who

for generations had led a life which was restricted in action only by the "regulator" or by the condemnation of organized interests. Many illustrations might be given of the encounters, physical and verbal, that took place between the scholars and also the parents of these early masters of the art of imparting knowledge. In almost all cases of trouble between the master and his scholar the parent sided with his children for two reasons; first, because it was "natural," being the expression of paternity; and second, because of the parent's own aversion to control.

Many customs, now extinct, were then in vogue as to what a master should or should not do. One of the customs, originating we know not when or how, was that of treating his scholars at Christmas time. If a master failed in this matter there were "lockouts," fights, and sometimes serious trouble until the master complied. In this as in most other difficulties the parent was generally an aid and abettor of his children. Gradually this custom was discontinued, but for many years a master who did not give a Christmas "treat" was sure to have to hunt a new location the next year.

That the master was not always safe as to his person in the school days of which we speak is matter of common historical knowledge. A laughable instance or two will illustrate. Jerry Bonebreak (surely an apt name for a master of the rod and ferule) was one of the very early teachers of Scott County. In manner and person he was a unique specimen of the people "born east of the Hudson" and who had "come west" to educate the heathen and grow up with the country. He was slender in build, in fact seemingly had inherited what was then known "as a scrofulous diathesis" or predisposition to consump-

tion. He had a very sallow complexion, except when "fumed up" with double-distilled whisky of which he was said to be the most excellent judge in the state. Being a good judge of intoxicants of the many varieties then in use was supposed to qualify a man for any position of honor or trust, and if he had the added virtue of being willing to work he was qualified for any position, even that of becoming a son-in-law of some vain mother who had an eligible daughter fit for the matrimonial venture. To his sallow complexion were added enormously wide "pop eyes" that blinked and scintillated with a peculiar brilliancy. In his talk he had a peculiar raspy lisp, something like a grasshopper wheedling a base note. Where "j" was necessary he always sounded "g" after he had "a drink or two." His eyes were enough to scare into the "jimjams" any awkward, shy, little urchin from a home where a stranger did not appear once in six months. His beard—that is what they called whiskers in the day of which I speak—was of a dingy, sandy color except on the high cheek bones, where it was an intense black. In his walk he simulated nothing so much as a young rooster on dress parade. He habitually wore a plum colored coat, cut short behind, and with flaring tails that skittered in the wind when he walked in his pompous manner. His vest was of black velvet with many colored glass buttons. Glass buttons were the style in the days when our ancestors wished to be distinctive. Add to this his gray and white striped pants of unknown make and texture, a much worn and carelessly tied black cravat, and a white shirt that had not seen the washer for many days. His shoes were a cross between ox hide and calf skin, dingily blacked. A narrow-rimmed brown hat,

habitually tilted at a high angle in front, completed his costume. From a social standpoint he presented what one would think would cause a young pioneer to shake with "buck ager," but not so, for the boys and girls, little and big, and also the parents loved "Old Jerry," the schoolmaster.

That this love was deep-seated one may know by their actions. In the last school "Old Jerry" taught, the boys and girls, in respect and affection, clubbed together and bought a ring for a Christmas present for him. This they carefully concealed from his knowledge. A few days before Christmas came one of those blowing, biting, cold, snowy days which only the Illinois Country could furnish on short order. The snow drifted so that it was almost impossible to keep a track in the roads, however much traveled. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the fire becoming low, "Old Jerry" asked one of the larger scholars to bring a bucket of coal and start up the fire. One complied with his request with alacrity. When he filled the bucket with coal he carefully deposited in the middle of the bucket a large-sized shotgun shell about half filled with powder. Returning with the coal, he carefully deposited all in the stove, took his seat with an air of nonchalance, began his studies and awaited with tense nerves the inevitable. The stove in which the aforesaid dutiful scholar had deposited the coal plus the explosive was what was known as of the "cannon type"—a heavy iron casting, top and bottom, with a division in the middle so that any force applied inside would inevitably throw apart these two pieces of heavy casting to give vent to the explosion. "A spelling class," said "Old Jerry," and at that moment the stove parted in the middle

like a volcano on exhibition. Flame, ashes and cinders shot in a circle from the crevice, and consternation reigned. "Old Jerry" jumped forward over his desk and sprawled on the floor, his eyes bulging, and with much emphasis exclaimed: "S———C———, you damned scalawag! You did that on purpose!" Ashes, cinders and other debris covered the floor, while chunks of coal and other heavier particles scarred walls and ceilings. The shotgun shell went through a window but was found and was expected to be valuable evidence in locating the guilty party. However much it was desirable that the perpetrator of the deed be located and proper punishment meted out to him, it was more important that a new fire be started at once as it was very cold. After the parts of the stove had been replaced and a new fire started, an inquisition was held to locate and punish the culprit who caused the explosion. The boy who brought in the coal pleaded not guilty. It was too plain a case for an alibi, which was the most natural method of escape, so the youngster showed by witnesses that he or none of his family owned or were the possessors of a shotgun. During the investigation the schoolmaster, who had secretly been informed of the contemplated present of the ring for his Christmas gift, took a wise if selfish view of the trouble and said, "Well, boys, it is about Christmas time and I suppose Santa Claus might have thought he would play a trick on us, so we will forget the matter. The spelling class will resume their positions as before the explosion." It is only a matter of remembrance with certain young pioneers long since dead that the stove at B——— ever blew up.

It was an unwritten law of the early Illinois Country

that a schoolmaster should not drink intoxicating beverages during school hours, that is to say from 9:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M. This was hardship in many cases, and was sometimes circumvented by the aforesaid "Jerry." Living in the nearby village, he had to walk about a mile to the schoolhouse, which was very pleasantly situated in a large grove of timber. To the south of the school building was an immense sycamore tree. A "squirrel tree" it was called, since it had many holes bored into its side which were inhabited by these mischievous animals. The "scholars" noticed that the master always took a walk at recess and noon hour to the vicinity of this tree. When he returned he soon showed symptoms of having had a "snort," as it was termed, of some ardent-smelling compound supposed to be whisky. Youth is prone to be suspicious, so the scholars watched from the undercover of hazel brush to see what was the attraction for the teacher. "Sure 'nuf teacher had a bottle hidden in the squirrel tree and we seen him take a drink." Of course this knowledge soon became common property, and the "directors" were summoned. After hearing the evidence of several of the "scholars" the directors seemed satisfied that the crime of drinking while on duty was sustained. The master was not allowed to be a witness in his own behalf so the directors held a secret session and their minutes of the meeting showed the following resolution passed by unanimous vote:

"We the directors of Dist. No.—find you guilty of drinking whisky while on duty and restrict your indulgence to one small drink at each recess and two at the noon hour, and that you are to take no vengeance on the 'scholars' that appeared as witnesses against you."

The master was called in, the clerk read the resolution to him, and he acquiesced in manner and form, and school was resumed as usual. Whether the master followed to the letter this resolution is not at the present day ascertainable. The master was prone to relate in later life this episode, that in several instances the squirrels carried off his bottle, which was discouraging. In place of the last bottle he deposited, he found a large rattlesnake coiled up in the hole in the tree. Assuming that all the powers were against his habit—the children, the squirrels, and the snakes—the master said he made his hip pocket the depository of his spirits and had no more trouble. A friend suggested that “the delirium tremens” might have had something to do with the snake story.

If the schoolmaster deigned to enter some other business or profession or become an ordinary respected and respectable citizen in another walk of life, the process was a very short and simple one. Among his scholars there were generally half a dozen or more young women—marriageable daughters of substantial citizens—and from this number he selected, courted, and espoused some healthy, buxom girl, who would in the natural course of events become the heiress of a considerable plantation or a quantity of “wild land.”

He invariably sought these two requisites combined, for he was equally fond of a fine person and a handsome estate. Upon the land he generally managed to find an eligible town site; and being a perfect master of the art of building cities on paper and puffing them into celebrity, his sales of town lots usually brought him a competent fortune. As years rolled by his substance increased with the improvement of the country, the roughest points

of his character were rubbed down, age and gray hairs thickened upon his brow, honors, troops of friends, and numerous children gathered around him, and the close of his career found him respected in life and honored in death. His memory is perpetuated by the greatness of the civilization of Illinois, and shows what honesty, industry, and perseverance can do, even without worldly advantages.

Many of the characteristics of the early schoolmaster of the Illinois linger in the teaching fraternity of this state. He has lost some of the sincerity of the early disseminator of knowledge, and his economy is not so evident because his salary is higher. He still clings to a little different dress from that of the other professions, and he considers his infallibility to be on a par with the early master or more so, but his ideas of education are often superficial, and it might be that a return to the three R's of the traditional last century would be beneficial to rising posterity.

HISTORICAL NOTES

LINCOLN'S PROSPECTS: FEBRUARY, 1860

Historians are generally agreed that more of the credit for the first nomination of Lincoln belongs rightfully to David Davis than to any other individual. Yet the following letter shows that less than three months before the date of the Chicago convention, Davis himself had no confidence in the prospects of his candidate. The letter was written to Henry E. Dummer of Beardstown, an associate in law and politics of both Davis and Lincoln, and was recently donated to the Illinois State Historical Library by Mrs. William F. Dummer of Chicago. As far as is known, the text has never before been published.—*Editor*.

BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS
Feb. 20, 1860

MY DEAR SIR—

A few lines on politics by way of renewing our old acquaintance, will not I trust be unacceptable.

I am naturally so conservative, that it was a long time before I could wish the Republican party entire success. I do wish them success. I believe the Democratic party, if permitted much longer to rule the Country will ruin it. Who are you for Presdt? Who should be nominated at Chicago? Of course, I shd like it, if Lincoln could be nominated—but I am afraid that is a foregone conclusion. It seems to me from this standpoint now, as if it would either be Mr. Bates or Govr. Seward. Douglass, I [*illegible*] as corrupt a demagogue [as l]ives—and I am very much afraid that he will get the nomination at Charleston. If so, will he carry this State? I am afraid so, & shall be, no matter how strong Southern the platform may be on which he runs.

I am a good deal anxious also about the candidate for Govr. The candidate for Govr should be a man self possessed—always ready to debate the politics of the day with an opponent, and to debate too ably. He should also be a cool man, not easily provoked to anger.

Mr. Swett of this place is in my opinion the very man to make the race. He is an able man & efficient speaker. I really do not

know (Mr. Lincoln alone excepted) a more efficient man as a lawmaker in the State. He is a self possessed [*illegible*]able, with no arrogance [of] manner or speech, but with a consciousness that he is able to debate with any man.

The young men of a party win an election, much more than men of your age or mine. Mr. Swett has great power in infusing spirit, hope and enthusiasm in the young men of the party.

Mr. Judd of Chicago has been spoken of prominently for the office. The bitter quarrel between him and Wentworth wd render his nomination a very injudicious one.

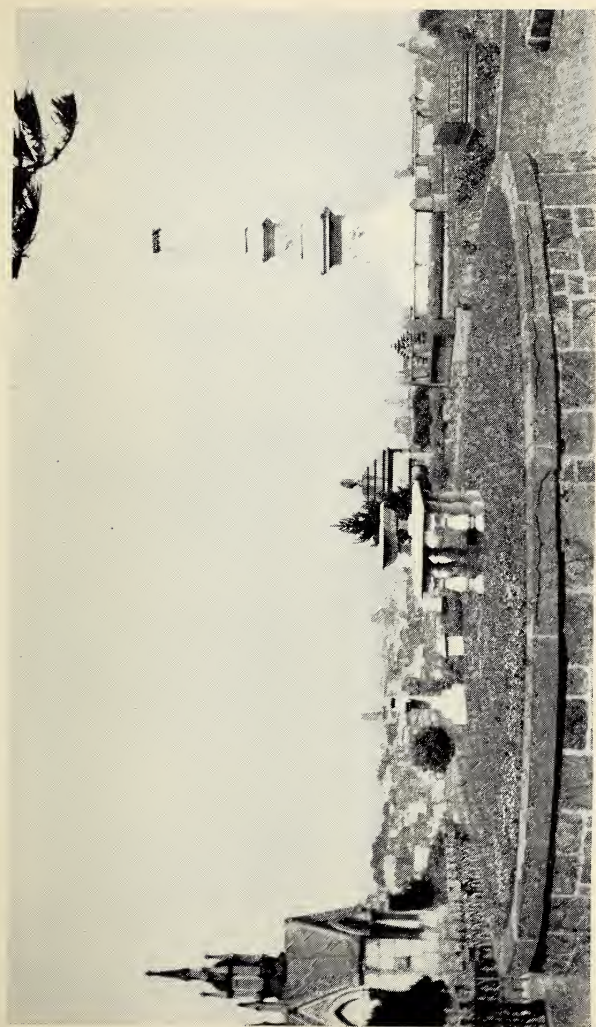
This state is very close if against the Democracy at all. We cant speculate on chances. Without Wentworths active & efficient aid & cooperation, this state cant be carried at all. I write this note for an interchange of views, and would be pleased to hear from you at your convenience.

Yr friend
DAVID DAVIS

THE GRAY EAGLE'S GRAVE

After more than three-quarters of a century the ashes of Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker are to be removed from their resting place upon the most revered of the Seven Hills of San Francisco. On Lone Mountain, the Laurel Hill Cemetery has long been known as Pioneer Memorial Park. It has been supported by trust funds for the permanent care of the graves it contains, and by other endowments. In that open space in the midst of the crowded city, not far from the Presidio, with the great bridge that spans the Golden Gate plainly in sight, lie the remains of many of the makers of California. It was there that Thomas Starr King, with whom Colonel Baker shared the fame of saving the state for the Union, pronounced his glowing farewell to the man who had been Abraham Lincoln's friend.

Not without vigorous protests has the decision been reached to abandon the cemetery. The interment records contain some 47,000 names, including eleven senators, and many soldiers, sailors, and eminent citizens. Nearly a year must elapse before the actual work of removal will be undertaken. Legal notices have been sent to all lot owners allowing them ten months within which to make their own removals if they so desire. Otherwise the transfers are to be made by the cemetery corporation, whether to other cemeteries or



GRAVE OF EDWARD DICKINSON BAKER

to a memorial mausoleum will be decided later. There is hardly a chance that Colonel Baker's body will be allowed to remain upon the hill which he himself dedicated on May 30, 1854 as a "peaceful spot within which the pioneers would rest forever," in what Thomas Starr King called "a tender and thrilling speech."

To visit that grave is an experience. Almost at the top of the ridge, with a widely sweeping view including the lofty towers of the bridge, is the large stone-walled circular plot. At the center there lies upon the turf a flat marble slab. From this rise six supports holding an inscribed marble "table" upon which are two large urns. The inscription reads:

EDWARD DICKINSON BAKER

Born in London, February 2, 1811

Killed while leading the forlorn hope
at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va.,

October 21, 1861

At the time of his Death he was a Senator
of the United States from the State of Oregon
and, though holding an appointment as

Major General, was acting as
Colonel Commanding a Brigade of U. S. Forces
Enlisted and Organized by Himself.

Other graves thereabouts are more expensively marked, but none is more beautiful and satisfying. Just above it is the massive pyramid known as the Bourn Monument. Adjoining is the mausoleum for James G. Fair, modeled from the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. The monument for Senator Broderick, for whom Colonel Baker delivered a funeral oration that California still remembers, is not far removed. Many plain old stones scattered about the wooded grounds carry the visitor "back East." From New England and the Middle West came many of the thousands buried here, founders of a city and an empire.

Within this mounded circle one lingers to muse over the adventurous life of the restless, generous, impulsive, friendly, bold and ambitious man for whom Abraham Lincoln named his second son. Brought to America as a child, he arrived in Illinois at the age of fifteen and was admitted to the bar while still too young for practice. Like Lincoln he served in the Black Hawk War. In Springfield he

acquired his early reputation as an orator. When the Mexican War began, he raised a regiment of volunteers. Santa Anna's wooden leg, which his regiment is understood to have captured, is now preserved in Springfield, Illinois. After serving two terms in Congress, Colonel Baker began a new career in California. His unusual gifts account for his popularity on the coast in the 1850's. With his bold face surrounded by fine white hair, they called him "the Gray Eagle." They did not like certain causes he championed, but the public could not resist his courage. When the killing of Broderick in the duel with Terry created a sensation said to have been second in California only to the assassination of Lincoln, Colonel Baker's oration made the name of that Democratic Senator a symbol of devotion to the Union cause.

Oregon sent for him. He alone might defeat the Secessionist Senator, Joseph E. Lane, who would soon be nominated for the vice-presidency on the ticket with John C. Breckinridge. Colonel Baker did defeat him for the Senate and that victory mightily encouraged the Union forces all the way down the coast. San Francisco remembers how, a few days before the election of 1860, he made his great speech for freedom, and Bret Harte grabbed a flag and led a parade through the streets. One likes to recall that on Inauguration Day in 1861, after Lincoln had taken the oath of office, it was "the Gray Eagle" who introduced to the multitude "the President of the United States."

And there are the stories of the volunteers—known as the California Regiment—which Baker commanded in the Civil War. One tale is told of his riding a lathered horse from camp to reply in the Senate to a secession speech by Breckinridge. And that trustworthy correspondent, Charles Carleton Coffin, tells of the tears streaming down the face of the President when he stumbled away from McClellan's headquarters as the tidings came of the death of his old friend.

They sealed his body in a metal casket and paid him high honors. From the Isthmus of Panama the steamship *Golden Gate* brought him back home to Lone Mountain. Lincolnians everywhere will feel that if his grave is to be removed arrangements should be made for a suitable memorial for this pioneer and patriot. Doubtless an appropriate plan will be announced in due time. Near

the Golden Gate is Fort Baker, named for him. The national military cemetery in the Presidio is not far from Laurel Hill. Quite aside from his relations with Lincoln, few of the minor figures in our history are more deserving of being memorialized.

F. LAURISTON BULLARD

BOSTON, MASS.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

MAD STONES AND DOG BITES

The application of a "mad stone," as it is termed, as a cure for the bite of a mad dog, is not an uncommon occurrence in this section, and there are believed to be several "mad stones" in this State, two of which—one owned by Mr. Samuel Tribble, of Piasa, Macoupin county, and the other by Mr. J. P. Evans, of Lincoln—are frequently called in requisition to remove the virus resulting from a mad dog's bite, and not a few cures of bad cases of hydrophobia have been reported as resulting from the application of the stone. A recent instance wherein the mad stone was applied to prevent the possible serious result of a dog bite is furnished in the case of Mr. J. G. Crouch, a well known citizen of Rochester, in this county, who was bitten last Friday by a little curly dog he came across near the Iles farm, on the Rochester road. Mr. Crouch subsequently noticed that the dog had a peculiar look, being green about the eyes, and he quickly parted company with the brute. The bite, which was on the forefinger of the left hand, he regarded as a slight affair, however, until the next day, when the hand became badly swollen and the wound very painful. Mrs. Crouch was seriously alarmed and persuaded her husband to go to Lincoln and have the mad stone applied. On Monday Mr. Crouch, his wound still being very painful, went to Lincoln and the stone was applied by Mr. Evans the same afternoon. It at once adhered to the wound so firmly that it could scarcely be shaken off, until it had, apparently extracted such portion of the virus as its porous nature could contain. After being soaked in warm and in cold water the stone was applied again, and the operation repeated, at intervals, until yesterday afternoon, as long as it would adhere. When it would no longer attach itself to the wound Mr. Evans pronounced the cure complete. The stone was applied to other fresh wounds upon Mr. Crouch's hand, but would only adhere to the wounds resulting from the dog-bite. When the stone became fully charged with the virus it would, of itself, drop

off the wound, and emitted a very offensive odor. The virus was of a dark-green color.

Mr. Crouch returned home last evening, well pleased with the result of his visit. His wound now looks like a mere scratch, and he says is without pain. He is a gentleman of prominence in Rochester, of undoubted veracity, and whatever may be the general want of faith in the efficacy of madstones as a cure for dog-bites, the statement of Mr. Crouch is entitled to complete credence; and as a relation of a peculiar circumstance, the *Journal* gives the matter publicity.

Daily Illinois State Journal, April 14, 1875.

LADIES' AMUSEMENTS, 1852

As a pleasant little prelude in the general tenor of this work, I will here present one of the happy features which characterize some of the Western prairie homes; and which exhibits some of the lovely but unexpensive embellishments which are made to beam around them by the attention bestowed upon the gardens by the girls, whose healths, beauty, and delights, are greatly enhanced by so doing. It is not uncommon there, nor is it considered a lack of good taste or true refinement, to see blooming girls dressing the flowers, pruning the shrubbery, and culturing the garden; they are all the happier and more charming for it; and the garden is among the objects to which they proudly call the attention of their sweet-hearts upon their afternoon visits. . . .

Another healthful and exhilarating amusement much indulged in by the ladies of the prairie country, is that of riding on horse-back; and the skill of many of our feminine equestrians is masterly, and would meet the delighted admiration of the gallant knights even of the chivalric feudal days, or the exacting criticism of Napoleon; and, surely, often does receive the cooperative approval of the joyous knights of their own neighborhood. Sometimes the ladies may be seen in merry adventurous troops, unattended by the masculines, bounding away with wild joy over the green fields, their glittering ringlets, and rich sashes, and gay plumes, waving and flying in the breeze, while the bright mane of their proud

steeds is tossed lightly in air over their gracefully curbed necks, as if they verily appreciated the charming burdens they bore away with such spirit and strength, seeming scarcely to touch the ground in their elastic gallop.

It is a proud, a glorious sight, thus to see a beautiful girl sit well and manage dexterously, in proper apparel, a noble horse, as he dashes away over the fields, or through the lawns; a more charming object is seldom looked at.

D. S. CURTISS, *Western Portraiture*, 205-207.

AN ILLINOIS LEAD MINE, 1834

Following my conductor along a mile or two farther of pretty rough road, we came at last to a spot where a huge mound of earth, with piles of lead-ore scattered here and there on the adjacent ground, showed that a mine was very successfully worked beneath; and giving our horses to an accommodating fellow that stood by, we threw off our overcoats and prepared to descend into it. The orifice on the top of the mound, over which a windlass was placed, was about three feet square, being lined with split logs crossing each other at the angles down to the original surface of the soil, below which point the adhesiveness of the earth seemed to be all that kept the sides of the pit together. It was so dark, however, at this part of the passage down, that other precautions may have escaped me. Taking the rope from above in my hands, and placing my foot in a wooden hook attached to the end of it, I swung myself from the top, and in a few moments descended some seventy or eighty feet below the surface. The narrow chamber was of course excessively dark to one just coming from the light of day; and landing upon the edge of a tub immediately beneath the aperture through which I had descended, I lost my foothold and pitched head over heels in the water with which the bottom of the mine was flooded. "Any one hurt?" cried a voice behind me; and looking round as I sprang to my feet, I found myself in a long horizontal passage or narrow gallery, with a grim-looking miner approaching me with a lantern in one hand and a pickaxe in the other. The next moment the form of my companion darkened the opening above, and then, after landing by my side, he introduced me to the miner, who pro-

ceeded to show us about these subterranean premises. They consisted of three or four galleries, generally terminating in a common centre, though one or two short ones, just commenced, appeared to run off at right angles to the rest; and the lead-ore, which glitters like frosted silver in its native bed, appeared to lie in thick horizontal strata along their side. The masses were readily separated by the pickaxe from the neighbouring clay, and we remained long enough to see several tubsful hauled up by the conveyance which had admitted us into these dusky regions. The labour and exposure of these miners is very great; but the life, to those who have an interest in the work, is said to be so exciting, that the most indolent man, when he has once fairly burrowed under ground, and got a scent of what is called "*a lead*," will vie in devotion to his toil with the most industrious of those who labour in the light of heaven. His stimulus, indeed, resembles that of the gold-hunter; for the lead, when delivered at Galena, is as good as coin in his pocket; while, if he chances to strike a rich *lead* of mineral, he at once becomes independent,—as, if he does not choose to work it on his own account, there are houses in Galena which will purchase him out for a handsome sum, for the sake of speculation.

C. F. HOFFMAN, *A Winter in the West*, II: 47-50.

THE STEAM PLOW

STEAM PLOUGH.—Among the curious inventions of the day, is the steam plough. If there be any portion of the U. States where such a machine can be made to operate successfully, it must be in the prairies of Illinois. A contemporary well remarks, "Should this invention prove successful and be of practical use, what glorious farms we may soon expect in this State! Even the Grand Prairie (to say nothing of the small prairies) could be *upturned*, and converted to the service of man by such a machine. One advantage gained by it would be that the *prairie* flies could not stop the progress of the work."

The Steam Plough is thus described in the *Batavia* (New York) *Times*:—

"We have seen the model of what is denominated a "Combined Wheel Plough," to be propelled by steam, the invention of Mr.

Amos Tyrrel, jr. of Darien, in this county. The number of Ploughs to be propelled will depend on the amount of propelling power used. Two nominal five horse power engines will propel a carriage of five ploughs—and when cross ploughing for seed, will also carry a seeding apparatus and drag, performing the whole at one operation. It requires two individuals to manage the machine—a man and boy. Also, a boy, a horse, a horse wagon, as a tender to supply coal and water as required—making a daily expense of not exceeding five dollars. And at a reduced speed the machine will plough twenty-five acres per day—and if required, sow and drag it in at the same time.

“The feasibility of the machine depends mainly on two principles, viz. The ease and precision of guiding, and the accumulation of power at the will of the guider, without altering the pressure of steam.—Thus enabling the machine, with proper modifications, to run on common or rail roads. The cost of a machine for five ploughs, on a fair estimate, will be the same as horse teams, harness and ploughs for cultivating a fallow of 160 acres.

“We confess we know but very little of the power and application of steam; but we hazard nothing in saying, we think this machine, on fair and feasible ground, will fully answer the design of its ingenious inventor.”

Sangamo Journal, Nov. 15, 1834.

JOHN REYNOLDS THE IMMORTAL

Adam W. Snyder and Gov. Reynolds were rivals and antagonists. It would not be going too far to say that they were in a state of chronic hostility to each other. Their warfare never proceeded so far as to become violent. They were, in some respects, in the condition that Kentucky was, according to the account the “*Governor*” used to give. He used to tell of a Kentuckian who was “calaboosed” in New Orleans for fighting. He said to one of his friends, who had called one day to condole with him, that he had made up his mind that if he ever got out of that infernal place, he would go back to *Kentucky where he could fight in peace.*

Snyder and Reynolds never broke the peace, but they were continually fighting, politically (although they were both “Jackson men,” and professedly Democrats). They were generally aspirants

for the same place—always in each other's way. Each one looked upon the other as being his "evil genius," and neither would have regarded the removal of the other to some other country as a very great evil. A man named Coonce once called upon Snyder, to take the necessary steps to obtain some testimony with a view to its *perpetuation*. Snyder never liked the drudgery of the profession, or the office business. He loved to try a case and address a jury, which he could do with great ease to himself, and splendid effect. He endeavored to get rid of the task upon various pretexts; but Coonce was very importunate, and finally Snyder sat down to writing, and asked Coonce whose testimony he wished to take. The latter said, "That of Gov. Reynolds." Snyder looked up in amazement, and broke out with an exclamation, that he never heard of such folly as to go to the expense and trouble to perpetuate old Reynold's testimony. "Why, damn him," said he, "*he will never die*. I have been waiting for him to 'kick the bucket' for more than a quarter of a century, and his hold upon life seems now to be stronger than it was when I first knew him; he will live forever, sir. I will not make a damned fool of myself by seeking to perpetuate the testimony of a man who will outlive any record in existence."

JOSEPH GILLESPIE, "Recollections of Early Illinois," *Fergus Hist. Series*, No. 13, pp. 19-20.

ILLINOIS POLITICS, OLD STYLE

Then, as now, with a certain class of politicians, "treating" during a political canvass was thought to be necessary to success. Candidates for office would give orders to liquor saloons to "treat" freely to whoever would drink at their expense, for weeks before the day of election. Saturday, more commonly than other days, was "treating day," the voters congregating from all parts of the country, coming long distances to hear the news and "fill up," frequently getting drunk and engaging in rough and tumble fights. The candidates would make it a point to be there and harangue "the boys" on the "ishoos" of the campaign, and the most particular one in it, their own success. Meeting in the shady groves, the orators would thunder forth their claims, mounted on convenient wagons, logs or stumps. From this grew the phrase "Stumping it."

Men were discussed, not measures. The most bitter personal arraignment of the other candidates was the stock in trade of these loud-mouthed statesmen.

The shades of evening would give warning, and the crowd would mount their horses, get in their ox carts, or on foot wend their way home, hurraing or yelling for their favorite candidate, and cursing his opponent.

JERIAH BONHAM, *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 30-31.

RETORT TO A CRITIC

"Charles Dickens, Esq., and lady," having visited Illinois in 1842, and having sailed up "the great father of waters," thanking Heaven all the way, that he (the Mississippi), "had no young children like himself"—"an enormous ditch, sometimes two or three miles wide, running liquid mud six miles an hour;" having stopped at the Planter's House in St. Louis, "built like an English hospital, with long passages and bare walls;" and having visited one of our prairies, where he was fed on "wheat bread and chicken fixings" instead of "corn bread and common doings," and in "a linen blouse and a great straw hat, with a green ribbon and no gloves; his face and nose profusely ornamented with the stings of mosquitoes;" having "met a full-sized dwelling-house coming downhill at a round trot, drawn by a score or more of oxen;" "without the exhilaration which a Scottish heath inspires, or the English downs awaken"—"where he saw nothing to remember with much pleasure—or to covet the looking on again in after life;" and where, too, he visited the "Monk's mound," near where "a body of fanatics, of the order of La Trappe, had once founded a desolate convent, when no settlers were within a thousand miles, and were all swept off by the pernicious climate; in which lamentable fatality, few rational people will suppose that society experienced a very severe deprivation;" our readers will not be surprised to learn, that an English gentleman of Mr. Dickens's taste, who had previously selected the Five Points in the city of New-York, as the principal objects of interest there, should have selected and described a scene in Illinois, just as he has done. They would, however, have been surprised to hear, that the people of Illinois, (like some of their eastern friends), took offence

at Mr. Dickens's description of their prairies.

The latter speak for themselves, and require no eulogy. Those acquainted with the best English parks, can alone appreciate their beauty.

HENRY BROWN, *History of Illinois*, 485-86.

HEALTH AMONG THE PIONEERS

In coming through the Indiana we met several families returning from the Illinois, who represented the place as a den of sickness. One gentleman from New York, whose wife died shortly after he had got his crop of corn in the ground, became so exasperated at the sickly country, that the day after he buried her, he gathered together what he could most conveniently carry, leaving the remainder, crop, land and all, to shift for themselves, without either guardian or administrator, and fled as if the plagues of Egypt were at his heels. . . . In all our inquiries amongst the residents, we found but one family that would acknowledge they had had any sickness: in this two of their children had once been complaining: the general answer to our inquiry was, that they had never had one hours sickness in their families since their settling in the country. . . . This one thing I have learned to a certainty:—those that are leaving the country will paint it in the blackest colors that it will admit of, to give some alleviation to their suffering in purse and mind, and to make the necessity of leaving it appear as urgent as possible; these that are remaining will represent it in the most brilliant colors, whether they are really satisfied and wish to encourage the settling in their neighborhood, or whether they are dissatisfied and wish to sell out to a profitable advantage. An anecdote that was told to me at the Camp tavern, in Indiana, makes me put less confidence in any of these accounts. "One of their neighbors who came from Virginia, wrote a letter home to his father, stating that amongst other blessings they were enjoying in the western paradise, was that of excellent health.—His wife asked him how he could send such an account, when two of their children had been confined to their beds for five weeks with the fever and ague: "why my dear," said he, "that is not considered as sickness in this country."

HENRY HEALD, *A Western Tour* (1819), 60-62.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A large and enthusiastic crowd gathered for the fortieth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society which began in Quincy on May 12.

The meeting opened with a luncheon at the building of the Quincy Historical Society on that date. Dr. H. Gary Hudson, president of Illinois College, spoke on "The Compensations of an Historian." At the afternoon session the following papers were presented: "The Lincolns of Hancock County, Illinois" by Marcy Bodine, Macomb; "Floating Namesakes of the Sucker State" by William J. Petersen, Iowa City, Iowa; "Frances Willard: An Illinois Teacher" by Mary E. Dillon, Evanston; and "The United Brethren Church in Illinois" by Lynn W. Turner, Monmouth.

The annual dinner of the Society took place at the Quincy Country Club in the evening. On this occasion, "Ballads and Songs of Immigrant and Pioneer" was the title of the address presented by Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, with Mrs. A. O. Howd of Quincy assisting.

On the following day, May 13, the Society had an interesting expedition to Carthage and Nauvoo, conducted by Lane K. Newberry. The trip was made by automobile along one of the most scenic highways of the state. The Old Jail at Carthage, which was the site of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mormon leaders, was visited in the morning. In Nauvoo, members of the Society were taken on a tour of historic places. A luncheon at the Nauvoo Parish Hall, followed by the annual business session of the Society, was the closing feature of the meeting. The 1940 meeting of the Society will be held in Carbondale.

At the annual meeting James A. James was re-elected President of the Society. Dr. Dwight F. Clark, Evanston, was elected a director to fill the one vacancy on the Board.



Too frequently publications which would certainly interest many of the readers of the *Journal* escape the notice of the Editor

at the time of their appearance. Such is the case with a pamphlet entitled *The Belleville Public Library: An Historical Sketch*, by Bella Steuernagel, the librarian, which came off the press in 1936. The Belleville Public Library was founded in 1836 as the "German Library Society of St. Clair County," and it enjoys the distinction of being the oldest library in Illinois. Miss Steuernagel's account is a concise but adequate summary of the institution's first century.



The March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an installment of a travel diary—that of Abner Morse—which should be of interest to many Illinoisans. Morse arrived at Chicago in the first week of January, 1856, and then spent nearly two months in northern Illinois. His diary contains good descriptions of Peru, Princeton and Galesburg, and some penetrating comments on the state's future. The writer concluded that Illinois would become one of the most powerful states in the Union, but he was convinced that its development had reached such an advanced stage that it was an undesirable place for a poor man to settle.



The one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday was observed with appropriate ceremonies throughout the state and nation. The first broadcast ever made from Lincoln's Home in Springfield went over the air on February 8. At this time, Francis G. Blair, former superintendent of public instruction in Illinois, Paul M. Angle, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, and Irving F. Pearson, executive secretary of the Illinois Education Association discussed Lincoln's attitude on education.

On February 12 another nationwide broadcast was made when members of the American Legion held their annual pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield. The addresses of National American Legion Commander Stephen F. Chadwick and of Mrs. R. K. Rinaker, national vice-president of the Legion Auxiliary, were heard at this time. Preceding this part of the program, Raymond Massey read Lincoln's farewell address to his neighbors in Springfield from New York.

The Abraham Lincoln Association held its annual banquet in Springfield on February 11, with James Weber Linn, professor of English at the University of Chicago, as the principal speaker. On February 12, the Association sponsored a public meeting in the same city with the Reverend Julius Moldenhawer speaking on "The Lincoln of the Second Inaugural."

At Petersburg the Old Salem Lincoln League held a banquet on February 10. Judge James W. Bollinger of Davenport, Iowa spoke on "Lincoln the Witness."



The eighty-seventh birthday of the Tanner twins, Mrs. Martha Thornton of Naperville and Mrs. Mary Hopkins of Kansas City, was observed by the Aurora Historical Society on April 23. More than three hundred people attended the reception held at the old Tanner home in honor of the only two living children of the late W. A. Tanner. Some time ago the twins presented the family home, now over eighty years old, to the Historical Society. During the afternoon, Mrs. Thornton presented her five grandnieces and grand-nephews with life memberships in the Aurora Historical Society. Mrs. Robert C. Kendall was chairman of the affair.



Efforts are being made by the Boone County Historical Society to determine which is the oldest house now standing in Belvidere. The question was discussed at the February meeting but no decision was reached. At this meeting it was decided to place a marker at the Frank Miller home which was the former residence of General Stephen A. Hurlbut. The site of the old American House will be similarly marked by the Society.

Fred A. Marean has been re-elected president of the Society. Other officers are: James Huff, R. V. Carpenter, and Thomas Beckington, vice-presidents; Blanche Marean, secretary; John R. Tripp, assistant secretary; Fred Hall, treasurer; R. V. Carpenter, historian; Mrs. A. J. Tripp, custodian; E. B. Glass, Fred Keeler, Fred Lewis, and Mrs. Alva McMaster, trustees.

Mrs. Henry E. Pond of Petersburg gave an illustrated talk on New Salem before members of the Bureau County Historical Society in February. The topic of her address was "Restoration of a Ghost Village." Daniel D. Russell is president of the Bureau County organization.



James G. Randall, professor of history at the University of Illinois and one of the directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, has been honored with the presidency of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. His election to this office took place at the annual meeting of the Association held in Memphis, Tennessee in April.



The importance of preserving the historic buildings of Cahokia was stressed by Paul M. Angle in an address to members of the Cahokia Historical Society on February 27. The extensive research necessary in such a project was outlined and the difficulties encountered in similar restoration work at New Salem were mentioned. Mr. Angle declared: "There is no place in Illinois more deserving of preservation for its historical significance."



Carroll County is observing its centennial anniversary this year. On February 22, an exhibit of relics of pioneer days was held in the Milledgeville Community High School. On May 20, a pageant depicting the history of the county was given at the Frances Shimer College in Mt. Carroll.



Charles B. Pike, president of the Chicago Historical Society, reports that all attendance records of the Society were broken in 1938. A total of 215,983 visitors entered the building during the year, exceeding by 55,821 the preceding high record established in 1937. This increase in the number of visitors is chiefly attributed to the publicity given the exhibits of the Society by the press and radio of the city.

On February 12, 1939, the Society held its annual Lincoln's Birthday Open House. Continuous entertainment, including movies and a play, was provided throughout the day.



At the meeting of the Woodlawn Historical Society on February 10, Mrs. Eleanor Gridley was the guest speaker. Her subject was "Abraham Lincoln." At the business meeting which followed the program, three directors were elected. Mrs. E. J. Chladek has been president of the Woodlawn organization ever since it was founded four years ago.



Bryn Mawr night was observed by the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) at its meeting on March 2. One of the community's oldest residents, John Dillinger, was present. Mr. Dillinger came to the South Shore in 1856. Mrs. Walter Seymour and Stanford Espedal were the speakers of the evening. Community singing was followed by a business meeting in charge of Charles Gunnarson, president.



Slides and pictures of early days in Chicago Lawn and neighboring community were featured by the Chicago Lawn Historical Society on May 21. The occasion was the second annual spring meeting of the Society.



The fifth annual assembly of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association was held on April 11. T. T. Sullivan, president, made a short talk, and Miss Helen Zattenberg, secretary-historian, read from a diary supposed to have been written by an early settler of Lake View Township. Slides of early Ravenswood and Lake View scenes were used to supplement her reading. An exhibit of photographs, newspapers, and various other historical documents was on display at this meeting.

The Research Committee of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) meets every month to study some phase of West Side history. At their meeting on March 10, A. O. Philipp of Midlothian, Illinois, discussed his early days in the theater as an acrobat.

The Society announces that the following officers were elected at the January meeting: Miss Pearl I. Field, honorary life president; Frank L. Wood, president; J. C. Miller, Harlo Grant, Miss Marguerite McBride, and Henry W. Coan, vice-presidents; T. H. Golightly, treasurer; and Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian. The following are directors of the Society: Otto Eisen-schimi, Arthur A. Marquart, John T. McEnery, Dr. Harry J. Stewart, Albert F. Keeney, Miss Lois M. Bergh, Theodore Shumon, Edward P. Brennan, Charles W. Carter, and George R. Boyles.



One of the most elaborate centennial celebrations of the year promises to be that of Taylorville and Christian County during the week of July 23-29. The historical parade with floats representing various organizations and towns of the county, is expected to be the outstanding feature of the celebration. Numerous concerts, contests, and other entertainment will be provided and it is hoped that many former residents will return for the event.



The DuPage County Centennial celebration, which was officially opened in February, is being observed with various events throughout the summer and fall. At the ceremonies on February 9, in the courthouse at Wheaton, the proceedings of the state legislature in 1839 when it authorized the establishment of DuPage County, were re-enacted. State Senator Richard J. Barr impersonated Abraham Lincoln while State Representative Joseph S. Perry took the part of Stephen A. Douglas. Other officials of DuPage County, all in costume, also took part in the program. A list of the events scheduled by the Centennial Commission was included in the March *Journal*. The celebration will be climaxed by an official "Centennial Week," September 9-16.

The Edgar County Historical Society celebrated the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the county on April 15. Miss Katharine Bishop and Mrs. A. J. Parrish arranged a program of songs, poems, and reminiscences.



The Evanston Historical Society reports a big increase in its membership. More than two hundred and fifty new members have been enrolled since January 1, 1938, making a total of some five hundred and fifty. A new junior membership has been created for girls and boys not yet graduated from high school.

At the meeting of the Society on March 21, Francis L. Bacon discussed the history of secondary education in Evanston. On May 9, residents of Winnetka, Kenilworth, and Wilmette were invited to be the guests of the Evanston Historical Society at its last spring meeting. On this occasion, Louis K. Gillson of Wilmette spoke on "Historical Survey of Wilmette Village, No Man's Land, and Llewellyn Park." Dr. Dwight F. Clark is now serving his third term as president of the Evanston Society.



The people of Freeport will have to organize a historical society and museum within the next five years if they are to take advantage of the provision made in the will of the late Mrs. Clarissa Taylor Bass. Mrs. Bass left the sum of \$5,000 for such a society, provided that \$1,000 is collected from other sources during that period. She stated in her will: "It is my hope and wish that such a society may be organized and founded to receive gifts of and to collect and care for historical objects pertaining to the history of the city of Freeport, Stephenson county, and northwestern Illinois, and to carry out such other purposes of a society."



New displays are continually being added to the exhibits at the Galena Historical Museum. In March it was announced that a log cabin similar to the Lincoln cabin at the Chicago Historical Society was being constructed for display here. It is built of walnut logs

from the home of the late Miss Belle Sherard in Galena. Mrs. Mary Kelly of Berwyn, Illinois recently loaned her historical collection to the Galena Museum.



The death of Abraham Lincoln was commemorated in two services in Springfield on April 15. Ceremonies at his Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery were conducted by the Daughters of the Union Veterans of the Civil War, department of Illinois, with representatives from all over the state in attendance. Mrs. Henrietta Gould placed a wreath at the Tomb.

On the same day members of the Daughters of the American Revolution gathered at the scene of Lincoln's farewell address to the people of Springfield. Mrs. George Ketchum Hall, granddaughter of John T. Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner, placed a wreath on the marker.



Among the counties observing their centennials this year is Hardin County. On March 2, exactly 100 years after the new county was formed, a program was held at the courthouse in Elizabethtown to commemorate that event. David R. Warford of Marion gave an address on this occasion. The centennial committee, headed by James A. Watson, is making plans for a more extensive celebration in the county on July 2, 3, and 4.



The newly reorganized Lee County Historical Society has been holding meetings every month in the Dixon High School. On February 20, Enos Keithley spoke to members of the Society on "Early Man in the Rock River Valley" and Barry Lennon reviewed the history of Lee County, now in its centennial year.

"Early Days in Grand Detour" was the subject of Amos Bosworth's address at the March meeting of the Society. On April 17, Clyde E. Buckingham reviewed the story of the Mormons in Illinois, stressing in particular the events connected with this group which took place in Lee County.

The first anniversary of the reorganization of the Macon County Historical Society was observed with a dinner meeting in June. Officers for the new year were elected at this time. The Society is seeking a room for the preservation of furniture and other objects of historical interest which it has acquired.



An eight-day celebration was planned by Metropolis to commemorate its centennial this year. Special events were on the program for every day from May 28 to June 4, with all civic organizations co-operating. Mayor Van Hooser was chairman of the general committee.



Jacksonville's one hundred and fourteenth anniversary was celebrated by the Morgan County Historical Society with a dinner meeting on April 26. A program to honor the memory of Newton Bateman, who lived for some time in Jacksonville, was featured at this time. Dr. R. O. Stoops presented a sketch of Bateman's early life and Dr. Francis G. Blair reviewed his contributions in the field of education.

Officers elected by the Jacksonville Society early in the year include the following: Dr. Carl E. Black, president; Frank Heinel, vice-president; Miss Fidelia Abbott, secretary; and Mrs. Henry W. English, treasurer.



The New Salem-Springfield Trail Association held its third annual banquet on February 9 in the Athens Community High School. Dr. L. O. Schriver of Peoria was the principal speaker. Plans to introduce in the general assembly a bill providing for a scenic road from Lincoln's Tomb to his early home in New Salem were discussed.



Frank L. Wood was the speaker at the April meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. A long-time resident of Chicago's West Side, Mr. Wood discussed the earlier days of this neighborhood and the contributions of some of its citizens to the history of Oak Park.

Two veteran river men were the speakers at the March meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. A. T. Griffith, harbormaster of the port of Peoria since 1907, discussed shipping on the Illinois River and outlined the history of improvements made by the federal government on this waterway. Captain Martin Houstin, who recently retired after fifty-four years' service as a pilot on the river, related some of his experiences. The program was arranged by Y. A. Heghin.



At the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County on April 18, the following officers were elected: Mrs. J. W. Emery, president; W. H. Sinnock, first vice-president; Ernest M. Wood, second vice-president; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Mrs. Anne Jarrett Wood, secretary; Miss Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; C. F. Eichenauer, historiographer; Julius Kespohl, auditor; Kenner S. Boreman, librarian; L. E. Emmons, Sr., Walter B. Franklin, and Oliver B. Williams, directors.

Annual reports were made at this meeting. Mrs. Emma Randall, hostess of the Historical Building, announced that more than a thousand people visited the Society's quarters during 1938. New equipment has been added and numerous improvements have been made on the building and grounds.

The Society was host to members of the Illinois State Historical Society when they held their annual meeting in Quincy on May 12 and 13.



The Rock Island County Historical Society is already making plans for Rock Island's centennial in 1941 (the name of the town of Stephenson was changed to Rock Island in 1841) and for Moline's one hundredth anniversary celebration in 1943. The following officers were elected by the Society early in the year: John H. Hauberg, president; Henry F. Staack, vice-president; Maurice S. Colehour, secretary; Morris S. Heagy, treasurer; and Owen B. Wright, O. L. Nordstrom, Mrs. Grace R. Sweeney, Miss Elsie Schocker, Wilbert Stephenson, Mrs. Gertrude Macrorie, Mrs. Fannie Entriiken, A. R. Crabb, and Eugene Mueller, directors.

Plans for the organization of a Rockford Swedish Historical Society are nearing completion. Such an association, uniting some forty Swedish organizations now in existence in Rockford, is being promoted for the advancement of Swedish cultural interests in the city. A group of this kind might "sponsor at least one or two major events each year in which all the Swedish public of Rockford can participate."



"O'er Lincoln Trails" was the title of the illustrated lecture given by James J. Hogan of Oregon, Illinois at the Shelbyville High School on April 18. The newly organized Shelby County Historical Society and the history department of the high school co-operated in sponsoring this entertainment. The Historical Society hopes to have a movie made of Shelbyville and Shelby County within the near future. It is also attempting to arrange for a Writers' Project to prepare a history of the county.



The Daughters of the Pioneers of Williamson County invited the Sons of the Pioneers and others interested to meet with them at their regular quarterly meeting on April 10. Prizes were awarded to the winners of the poetry, essay, poster, short story, and costume contests held in connection with the county's pre-centennial celebration. Plans for the observance of the centennial were also discussed at this meeting.

CONTRIBUTORS

Erne Rene Frueh is a graduate student at the University of Chicago. . . . Clyde E. Buckingham, Certification Agent for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, resides at Dixon. Historical research is an avocation with him. . . . Norman W. Caldwell is head of the Department of History and Political Science, The College of the Ozarks, Clarksville, Arkansas. . . . C. C. Carter, of Bluffs, will be remembered as the author of the sketch, "The Politician," in the March number of the *Journal*. His third and concluding article will appear in our September issue.

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BOOKS IN A PIONEER HOUSEHOLD

BY CLARA MARTIN BAKER

ANY scholarly or exhaustive treatise on the reading habits of the early settlers of Illinois is quite beyond my knowledge or ability. I do not know even so very much about the books possessed and read by my own family a hundred years ago. But what little I do know may be of interest to those who enjoy looking back into a period of our history so different from the present that it seems almost like another world.

In 1828, a covered wagon, heavily laden, and drawn by two teams of horses, trailed slowly into the unsettled region of central Illinois. It conveyed two young couples, David Davis with his wife Mary, also called Polly, and my grandparents, William D. and Marilla Baker. The women were sisters, daughters of Josiah Martin, a Revolutionary War veteran; and the men were related to each other also, though not so closely. They were people of courage, ambition, and determination, come from Rutherford County, Tennessee, to find a place where they could own their own homes, as they could not do in the older state where land was scarce and high priced. The Bakers had two small children, the Davises one, so there were seven in all.

Besides its human freight, the wagon carried an almost unbelievable quantity of household goods. Of course they had to bring all they would need with

which to begin life in a new place far removed from sources of supply. We can hardly realize what careful thinking and planning it must have required to pack that wagon, what checking and re-checking to be sure nothing essential was left behind. They would be able to buy some food along the way, for Kentucky and southern Illinois were fairly well settled at that time; but the staples must be carried with them. There must be plenty of ammunition for the flintlock rifles, and seed corn, and wheat, and cotton seed, for they did not then realize that Illinois summers would be too short for cotton. There must be ploughs and sickles, froes and adzes and other tools. Some things could be used in common, but others must be duplicated for each family. The women held anxious consultation over their feather beds, their hand-woven sheets, blankets and coverlets. They gathered up the iron kettle, the wooden noggins, the Dutch ovens, the candle-moulds, the dye-pots and the churns. How should they pack their precious shelf-ware so it would not be jolted to fragments on the long, rough journey? How much soap would last them until they could make more? So many questions to be decided—small wonder that among them all grandmother forgot her smoothing-iron! The spinning wheels must go, of course, the big one for wool and the little one for flax and cotton; but a loom was too cumbersome. They must take sets of reeds of different sizes, then the men could make new looms after they had come to the end of their travels. Both women had heavy walnut chests to hold clothes and bedding, and they brought a few other articles of furniture, but not many. Space was at a premium, and bedsteads, chairs and tables could be built along with the new cabins.

How many books were left behind for lack of room we have no means of knowing, neither do we know how many they brought. Perhaps they brought all they had; middle Tennessee had been itself a frontier not so many years before, and private libraries were not always very extensive. But we may be quite sure that about one book there was no question, no argument. The family Bibles were absolute necessities, as much so as the axes or the bullet-moulds. They would as soon have left the babies behind as the Bibles. Fortunately the one that belonged to my grandparents is not so large a volume as the ponderous tomes that occupied parlor tables in the eighties and nineties. It is a rather small, chunky book, bound in dark brown calfskin, stained and mottled with age, and extremely smooth to the touch; the paper, now yellow with age, is firm, the print small. It is not where I can refer to it, and I do not know its date of publication, but I remember it well. The records of my grandparents' births and of their childrens' were written on the blank pages between Malachi and Matthew. Not only did these pioneers carry their Bibles with them, but they read them, daily and earnestly. Truly, the word of the Lord was a lamp unto their feet and a light unto their path as they ventured forth into the unknown.

Grandmother had also a small New Testament, in the same kind of binding as the Bible, printed in New York in 1825 for the American Bible Society. Written in the back, in her own hand, are the following words:

Marilla Baker's testament the 15 of March 1829.

Below this:

We left Tennessee the 7 of October 1828.

In the front, written at her dictation years afterward,

is the statement:

My mother gave me this book in the fall of 1828.

We do not know exactly how long it took them to make the journey, but tradition says about a month. They came by a circuitous route, camping along the way. Somewhere in southern Illinois they visited friends who had left Tennessee a few years before, and were urged to settle near them, but they refused. In her first letter home, grandmother wrote:

I would rather take a start with the rest than to be where every one was fixed to live except us.

By the time they reached what later became Macon County, an early and unusually severe winter was swooping down upon them. They found a few people living in what was called the Ward settlement, and an empty cabin which they were welcome to use until spring. So they spent the winter there, from necessity, not choice. It was a sort of makeshift existence, crowded and full of discomforts. When the streams, which were the only water supply, froze solid, it must have seemed a bleak and bitter country indeed to those fresh from the milder climate of the South. The little daughter of the Bakers, then four years old, kept to the end of her life two vivid memories of that winter. One was of her mother crouching on the floor to sift meal, with the white cloth spread for the meal to fall upon continually rippling in the keen wind which blew through the cracks. The other was the anxiety her elders could not conceal whenever the trampling of horses was heard outside. The cabin was poor enough shelter, but better than none; and they did not know just when the owner might return and want it.

In the spring, as soon as travel was possible, they pushed on, north and east, till they reached the limit of the forest. Here, near a bubbling spring, they built their two little log houses, a quarter of a mile apart. They were miles from any other neighbor; on one side they had the deep woods where the wolves howled, on the other the unbroken prairie. How thankful each sister must have been that the other was near to share her loneliness, and how often they must have talked of the loved ones left behind. Yet it was a joy to set up real housekeeping again, each in her own home with her own things about her. The shelf-ware came through safely, the soap held out, and even the forgotten smoothing-iron was replaced by a better one purchased on the way. So I picture my little grandmother on that fifteenth day of March, busy unpacking and setting her one room to rights, but taking time in the midst of it to read in the Testament that had been her mother's parting gift, and to make a note of the day when they left the old home and the day they began the new. The book was a link with the past which she always treasured, and I am glad that in her old age she gave it to me, her youngest grandchild.

In the other little cabin there were treasures too, among them at least two books written by William Cummins Davis, who was David's father, and a Presbyterian minister of considerable repute both in North and South Carolina. He was a man of good education for the times, and a very able preacher. He was also a non-conformist who insisted on doing his own thinking, and that not always along perfectly orthodox lines. I cannot find the exact date of his book, *The Gospel Plan*, but certain doctrines in it so disturbed and offended his

theological brethren that in 1808 they summoned him to stand trial for heresy. He was given opportunity to change his ideas, but refused, and they were on the point of expelling him from the church when he rather stole their thunder by announcing that the Presbyterian Church had no jurisdiction over him, because he had already left it of his own accord. The General Assembly dismissed him nevertheless, as their minutes show. His congregation followed him almost to a man, and he set up what he called the Independent Presbyterian Church. This organization flourished until his death, and for a good many years afterwards; indeed, it was not until after 1860 that it finally came back into the orthodox fold.

Only one copy of *The Gospel Plan* was brought to Illinois, but whatever one family had, the other could, and did, read. When grandmother was well past eighty she took a notion to refresh her memory of this heretical masterpiece. It was borrowed from Aunt Polly, and my sister read it aloud, stumbling somewhat over the old-fashioned diction and the long s's. Grandmother enjoyed it greatly, but neither of them could find the heresy. Unfortunately, the Davis grandson who inherited the book must have loaned it once too often, for it has vanished beyond recall. He still has the other book, *Lectures on the New Testament*. Of this the title page is missing, but the preface is signed, "October 1812, William C. Davis." Nothing in either book would be likely to shock anyone now; he was merely in advance of his time.

Each family had also a little fat copy of the *Hymns of Isaac Watts*; the words only, no music. There is a tradition that the women comforted themselves during

the Black Hawk War by reading or perhaps singing these hymns together. I should think it more likely that they read them. The hostile Indians were not really in this neighborhood at all, but the settlers did not know it, and lived in dread for months. There was a new baby in each cabin by this time, and the parents were anxious whenever one of them cried at night, lest it should be heard by lurking redskins.

Another music book my grandmother brought with her was the *Missouri Harmony*, which she and grandfather had used in singing school in Tennessee before their marriage. I think the Davises had one too, but it has been lost. Our copy is bound in calf, with no lettering on the outside. The preface has been torn, but stitched carefully together with thread. The title page is torn just enough to take off the last letters of a few words, but all are easily supplied except one, which comparison with another copy shows to have been "beginners." I will copy the wording of the title page, as sent me by my sister, who has the book in her possession.

The *Missouri Harmony*, or a choice collection of Psalm tunes, hymns and anthems selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian Singing Schools, and private societies; Together with an introduction to grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners. By Allen D. Carden, St. Louis. Published by the Compiler, Morgan, Lodge & Co., Printers, Cincinnati, 1820.

She also copied for me a footnote from the "Grounds of music" section, which suggests a rather unusual anatomy:

The organs of a man's voice (or the lungs) is in form somewhat like a tube, about one fourth of an inch in diameter, and possesses power sufficient to divide a note or tone of music into 100 equal parts.

Singing schools were very popular all during the pioneer period. Whether all of them were "Christian" or not I do not know, but many of them did use the *Missouri Harmony*. The copy out of which the young Abraham Lincoln sang with Ann Rutledge is still preserved by one of the Rutledge descendants. If we gaze long enough at the queer little square and three-cornered notes in one of these old song books we can almost hear a faint, elusive echo of the fresh young voices that once translated them into melody.

The little bookshelf on the log cabin wall held a few other books of which we know. One was a first edition of the *Confession of Faith* of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, printed in Nashville in 1815. This my grandmother especially valued because it was her father's gift to her—the father she was never to see again in this life, for he died in 1835. It was four years after he had passed away before it seemed possible for them to make their first, and only, visit to the old home. They had a covered wagon for each family this time, and eight children instead of three; it must have been quite a cavalcade. From this visit grandmother brought back several books that had been her father's, among them a series of sermons called *The Cumberland Presbyterian Pulpit*, published in 1833, and a little book, *Prayers Suitable for Children and Sunday Schools*. The most interesting of these books, at least of those that have survived, is one by John Flavell. Its title page reads as follows:

A Saint Indeed; or, The Great Work of a Christian Opened and Pressed. Being a seasonable and proper expedient for the recovery of the much decayed power of godliness among the professors of these times. By John Flavell, Minister of the Gospel.

I find from the *Dictionary of National Biography* (in

which the name is spelled "Flavel") that this author was an English dissenting minister, who lived during the troubled period from about 1630 to 1691. His father was also a minister, a "painful and eminent" divine. The son attended Oxford, and his first charge was at Diptford, where he endeared himself greatly to the people, "not only by his earnestness, but by his easy dealings with them in the matter of tithes." In 1656 he moved to Dartmouth. From this pulpit he was ejected in 1662, by the Act of Uniformity; for he could not reconcile it with his conscience to accept the dictates of Charles II's Long Parliament in the matter of religion. He continued to preach in his own house, however, until the passing of the Five Mile Act, which made it a penal offense for any dissenting pastor to live in, to enter, or even to come within five miles of a town. Then he moved to Slapton, a little place just outside the limit. Here he "preached twice each Sunday to all who came, among whom were many of his old parishioners." Five miles to Slapton and back meant ten miles of travel, and probably on foot. That they were willing to do it speaks volumes, both for his power and their piety.

A Saint Indeed was written during this period of exile, as clearly proved by the "Epistle Dedicatory," which begins, "To my dearly beloved and longed for, the Flock of Jesus Christ in Dartmouth," and is signed, "Your loving and faithful Pastor, John Flavell. From my Study at Ley, in Slapton, Oct. 7, 1667." It is a little book, about five inches by three, and contains 270 pages, with very narrow margins. The paper is yellow and tough, scarcely torn at all, though the signatures are loose. The book is a sermon, and it seems to me a good one, on the text: "Keep thy heart with all dili-

gence, for out of it are the issues of life." There are a number of Latin quotations, but the style is clear and forcible. He has very little to say about Hell, but takes up such topics as the following: "How to keep the Heart from Fears in Times of common Distraction," "How to keep the Heart patient under Provocations to Anger," and "Desperate Conclusions kept out in Dark and Doubting Days." Evidently he felt himself in danger (as indeed he was) and intended the book as a sort of legacy to his people. "This may counsel and direct you when I cannot. I may be rendered useless to you by a civil or natural death, but this will outlive me; and O! that it may serve your souls when I am silent in the dust."

After some years he ventured back to Dartmouth, but could preach only surreptitiously. Since he persisted in his refusal to conform to the Established Church, he more than once had to flee to escape arrest. On one such occasion he narrowly missed being shipwrecked in a severe storm, which is said to have ceased in answer to his prayers. Not till 1687 were the harsh laws relaxed. Then his Dartmouth congregation built a new meeting-house, in which he preached in comfort and security the few years that yet remained to him. During his stubborn and eventful life he was married no less than four times, and also wrote twenty-nine books. They all display, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "vigorous diction and strong evangelical sentiments." *A Saint Indeed* is the fourth in their chronological list, and was first published in London in 1673. This particular copy is far from being a first edition, for it was printed in Edinburgh in 1789, by J. Paterson, for M. Gray, Bookseller, Royal Exchange. According to

the front fly-leaf, it became "Josias Martin his Book 1792." In 1792 Josias Martin was living in Lincoln County, North Carolina—a long journey from the bookshop of M. Gray in Edinburgh. We can only wonder how the little volume got to America, and whether our great-grandfather knew anything at all about John Flavell. If he did, I think he would have admired him. He had owned the book for seven years when my grandmother was born. Her name, with the date 1839, appears twice in the back of the book; but it later came into possession of her sister, Mrs. Davis, and now belongs to one of her descendants.

It seems well established that the Bakers, and probably the Davises also, had a copy of *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, by Richard Baxter. No one knows for sure about *Pilgrim's Progress*, but it would be strange if it were not in one family or the other. One of the Davises had still, a few years ago, another book by John Bunyan, with the dismal title, *A Few Sighs from Hell; or, The Groans of a Damned Soul*. As to Fox's *Christian Martyrs*, the only thing we know is that the oldest daughter of the Bakers had it in her home after she was married. Her children claim to have been "brought up" on it, so no doubt her parents knew it equally well. So far the list seems rather top-heavy with theology; but then, we do not know how many other books they may have had. It is safe to presume, however, that there were few, if any, that could be suspected of frivolity. In those days, if you "had religion" at all, you took it seriously. Perhaps they overdid it a little, perhaps we go too far the other way. Certainly they were not religious cranks, but just good Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

Moreover, as antidote to this strongly religious liter-

ary diet, they had the almanac. The almanac was almost as essential as the Bible, for it was the only kind of calendar there was. It is said, and doubtless truly, that in many frontier homes there were no books except the almanac and the Bible, and of these two the almanac was by far the most read. I cannot say what particular kind of almanacs my grandparents liked best, nor where nor how they obtained them for the first few years, but some always hung on the end of the bookshelf. It has been suggested that they might have had *Poor Richard's*, because grandfather was so fond of quoting his sayings. But, though he may very likely have read the wit and wisdom of Benjamin Franklin, the *Sayings of Poor Richard* had, before that time, ceased to be published as a yearly almanac. However, a number were being printed in the United States in the 1830's. They differed widely as to the amount of astrology and speculative weather predictions they contained, but most of them had, besides the calendar and other legitimate astronomical information, a great deal of miscellaneous material. There were assorted historical and biographical dates, such as the battle of Bunker Hill, the death of John Bunyan, the birthday of Lafayette. There were recipes, jokes, brief poems, tidbits of philosophy, notes on political questions of the day—the whole often amounting to forty or fifty pages of fine print; a regular hodgepodge, but something to consider when other reading matter was scarce. The trashy patent-medicine almanacs with which we are familiar belong to a later date. The older ones were of a higher order, especially the old *Farmer's Almanack*, which began publication in 1793 and is still "going strong." Some say that it was this almanac which Lincoln used to confute a lying witness in a

murder trial, but there is disagreement on this point. The witness swore that he had seen Lincoln's client by moonlight at 10:00 P. M., but Lincoln produced the almanac which showed that on the night in question the moon did not rise until later. The court accepted the almanac as final authority.

This *Farmer's Almanack* has always been notable for not including astrological nonsense. For this reason I think it would have been approved by my grandparents, if they knew about it, for they were not superstitious. In this they differed from many of their neighbors. They took no stock in the idea that the signs of the zodiac had an influence in human affairs. They cut their firewood and their hair when it was convenient, without consulting the almanac for a lucky day. As for the "Man of Signs," that grotesque, though ancient, figure which Josh Billings describes as: "An American brave, in his grate tragick akt ov being attakt bi the twelve constellashuns," they regarded him with academic interest only, and in sickness pinned their faith to herb tea, common sense, and the "Doctor Book," which deserves a section to itself.

"William D. Baker's Book 1835," is the firmly written inscription in their "Doctor Book," which has the following title: *Gunn's Domestic Medicine, or Poor Man's Friend in the Hours of Affliction, Pain and Sickness*. This book—I continue to quote from the title page—"Points out in plain language, free from doctor's terms, the Diseases of Men, Women and Children, and the latest and most approved means used in their cure, and is Expressly written for the benefit of Families in the Western and Southern States." This is the fifth edition, published in Madisonville, Tennessee, in 1835; and was, therefore,

when purchased, the latest authority obtainable. Bringing up a family without any doctor must often have been an anxious business, and I do not wonder that the head of the house wanted all the help he could get. At first there was no physician nearer than fifty miles, and even after one began to practice in the little village of Decatur, they were not much better off. There were no roads, and no bridges over the river. When the weather was bad, or the water high, as often, the "Hours of Affliction, Pain and Sickness" found them dependent on their own experience and the help of such few neighbors as they had. I am sure there was no doctor present when grandmother's third child was born, for it was late in December, 1831, and heavy snow was falling. Fortunately there was a midwife—grandfather's widowed mother—who, with one of his brothers, had recently come to the neighborhood to live. She was hastily summoned, and had a wild trip to reach the cabin through the drifting snow, which had covered the fences and wiped out paths and landmarks. As to other similar occasions, I could not say, but doubt whether they often went for a doctor. Aunt Polly had eleven children, of whom three died in infancy. Grandmother lost but one out of six—something of a record for this frontier period.

They were, on the whole, a healthy family, though they suffered much, as did all the pioneers, from intermittent malaria carried by mosquitoes. They called it *ague*, or *chills and fever*. There were three kinds, and they had them all, being sick every day, every other day, or every third day according to the variety. It must have taken strong constitutions to survive both the *ague* and Dr. Gunn's remedies for it—the sweating,

the bleeding, the purging with tartar emetic, calomel, jalap and senna, and the swallowing of strong decoctions of dogwood, poplar, and wild cherry bark "in such quantities as the stomach will bear." In case of "children or delicate women" whose stomachs had entirely rebelled, he advises "operating by the skin." This was done by causing them to wear next the body a tight-fitting jacket lined with these three kinds of bark, a procedure which, he says, "has been known to produce fine tonic effects." I hope the bark was pounded to a paste before lining the jacket, but nothing is said to indicate that it was.

They had the mumps in rather a severe form. It was at this time that the baby died, the weakest one of a pair of twins. My father, the youngest child, was born in 1837. He must have been four or five years old when all the children, and their mother as well, became sick at once, and finally broke out with characteristic "red pimples resembling flea bites." What a *measly* time it must have been, six cases all in one room! And Aunt Polly could not come to help, lest she carry the infection to her own brood. "In measles," remarks Dr. Gunn, "the diet should be low." Since grandfather had to be cook as well as nurse and doctor, it probably was. Whether he blistered them, as also advised by Dr. Gunn, and administered frequent doses of castor oil to induce "gentle pukes and purges," history is silent. Grandmother was really very sick, and her throat was so affected that she was never able to sing afterwards. I am glad grandfather never found it necessary to amputate an arm or a leg, for though the good doctor says, "I will so plainly explain that any man, unless he is an idiot or absolute fool, can perform this operation,"

there is nowhere anything said about sterilizing either hands or instruments. Perhaps it is not accident that the next chapter is entitled, "Mortification!"

Dr. Gunn did have some advanced ideas, however, for he advocated the use of "a bathing machine, improperly called a tub," which he describes as follows:

It is easy of construction, and very simple, being in shape like a child's cradle without rockers, about six feet in length, and of width sufficient easily to admit the body, with a hole in the bottom, near the foot, to let the water pass off after being used; it may be constructed of wood or tin. . . . Rocks properly cleansed previously to being heated in the fire, afford very easy means of heating the water [*sic*] to any temperature, and will always enable the bather to take the bath with very little trouble.

Somehow I cannot agree with the doctor that such a bath would be "very little trouble;" and nowadays we would feel cramped even in a six-foot bath tub if we had to share it with red-hot rocks. Probably we would not bathe even as often as recommended by him—twice or three times a week in summer, and once a week in winter. He also urges strongly the use of enemas, which he calls interchangeably "clysters" or "glysters." He says that the hospitals of Europe, and particularly of France, are well equipped with "clystering-pipes" and that he has witnessed there "the great and surprising benefits obtained from their use." But he adds, somewhat bitterly:

In the Western country of America, where there is certainly as much general intelligence as in any part of the world, it seems that you might as well desire a lady to swallow an elephant, as to take a clyster instead of a purgative medicine. This is all false modesty.

Like any good physician at the present time, Dr. Gunn has no use for "false modesty;" yet by present-

day standards he was not entirely free from it in his writing. Though sometimes he is very frank and outspoken, at other times he apologizes for using plain language but still proceeds to beat about the bush. I have no information about him except what I can glean from the book itself. He makes several references to study in Europe, and probably was fully abreast of the medical knowledge of the period. The notice of his copyright, on the reverse of the title page, is duly signed by the Clerk of the United States District Court for the District of East Tennessee, and dated July, 1832. It states that his Christian name was John C. and his residence Knoxville.

The latter third of the book consists of "Descriptions of the medicinal Roots and Herbs of the Western and Southern Country, and how they are to be used in the cure of Diseases." Some plants he skips over lightly, saying, "Every person who resides in the Western country knows what this is," or, "Every old lady in the country has more or less used dittany tea in colds." Others he treats at length, such as Seneka snakeroot, of which he says, "Of all the roots used in medicine it is by far the most valuable." He has also much to say about rhubarb. It seems just to have been discovered that rhubarb would grow in America, and he urges the cultivation of this "valuable medicine" as a patriotic duty. Imagine his surprise if he could now behold acres of rhubarb in market-gardens, destined not for purges, but for pie! Sassafras tea we are still acquainted with, and "pokeberry bounce" has an intriguing sound, however it may taste. Slippery elm I know my grandparents used, also blackberry cordial, pennyroyal, boneset and mint. I myself have been dosed with sarsaparilla—a

bitter memory. It is whispered that a few of the early settlers used "sheep-nanny tea" for certain complaints, but our family scorned it, and I find no authority in Dr. Gunn's writings for any such nauseous brew. With many of the wild flowers he mentions I am quite familiar. I gather them every spring in the same spots where they grew a hundred years ago, but until I read this *Domestic Medicine* I was unaware that they had any virtue except beauty.

On the visit to Tennessee before mentioned, the youngest daughter was presented with a little paper-backed book, and a year later her Sunday School teacher, Miss Charlotte Emerson, gave her another. These are the only samples I possess of what was written purposely for children in that day. The first is a tiny affair, maybe three inches by four, uninviting to look at, and in such very good condition that I strongly suspect it had not much more appeal to a nine-year-old then that it would have now. The title is *Temper; or, The Story of Susan and Betsy*. Being published by the American Sunday School Union, of course it is extremely moral. Susan and Betsy quarreled—at Sunday School, of all places! Their teacher exhorted at length. Susan took it to heart, but Betsy's mind "was all the while rolling upon its own malicious and resentful purposes." Both girls left school about the same time. Susan was a success, but needless to say that Betsy led an unhappy life; finally, by her bad temper, she drove her husband to spend all his earnings at the public house. I know nothing of Mrs. Hewlett, the author, but the language and the few pictures are distinctly English.

The other book is a trifle larger and nearly square, with pages printed only on one side. It is called *My*

Aunt Lucy's Gift, and is one of a series of twelve, published in Baltimore by William Raine, who states that he has "entered extensively into the publication of juvenile books." No author is given, and no date. It consists of eight short poems—perhaps I should say verses, for the morals are certainly better than the poetry—with such titles as: "Good Humor," "The Rose," "The Greedy Child," "Gone When You Are Called." I will quote the last one, which has better rhyme and meter than most, and is called "Going To Bed."

"And so you will not go to bed,
You naughty girl?" her mother said
To Fanny, who was crying:
"You see how quickly Charles and John,
And baby, too, to bed have gone,
Without this sobbing, sighing.
"Come, kiss mamma, and go up stairs,
And dry your eyes, and say your prayers,
And don't make all this riot."
Then little Fanny kissed mamma,
And bade good night to her papa,
And went to bed quite quiet.

Each poem has with it a colored engraving, very crudely done. The figures are out of proportion, and border on the grotesque; the very worst is the above-mentioned "little Fanny," who is shown kneeling in prayer, with a scarlet nightgown and a face exactly like that of a grown man. There is a further unintentional charm because the engravings and the color seldom coincide, evidently a slip 'twixt the first and second printing. For instance, if a lady holds a blue parasol, the blueness is partly perched on the parasol and partly hovering in the air. Yet, in the use of color at all, the book is an advance over Susan and Betsy.

As the children, five Bakers and eight Davises, grew up, schoolbooks began to augment the scanty bookshelves. The first schools were poor affairs, but what they did teach they taught thoroughly. The *McGuffey Readers* have been so much written about that I need not dwell on them. In the circuit court records of Decatur (Book C) it appears that in 1850, James H. Triplett, who kept the first bookstore, defaulted payment of a note, so that his stock was foreclosed and sold at auction. Among other textbooks, there was a quantity of *Grigg & Elliott's First, Second, and Third Readers*, and of *Goodrich's Fifth Reader*. Mr. Triplett was, or at least had been, teacher of the only school in the village. The fact that he had these other readers in stock would seem to be circumstantial evidence that they, and not McGuffey's, were the ones in use at that time. But in the country districts of which I write, *McGuffey's Readers* were used not only in the early days, but through many successive editions up to and after 1890. The *First Reader*, with which my father started to school in 1845, is the only one I now possess, but of course the family had them all, including the famous *Fifth*, and equally of course they were read and re-read until they were "learned by heart." The "pieces" they spoke on Friday afternoons must have been chosen largely from their readers, for they had neither newspapers nor magazines, and the only other source I can think of would be the almanac. My father's first public recitation sounds like that type of wit, though I have never been able to locate it in any of the *McGuffey Readers*. Wherever it came from, he learned it so well that he could write it out for me after he was over seventy years old. The title was "Bar Eloquence," and it ran as follows:

May it please the Honorable Court and Gentlemen of the Jury: The defendant in this case, wilfully and maliciously, with all the fury of a fiend and with all the terrific frenzy of a roaring lion, emerged from the wild wilderness, and, with his gigantic strength, he did then and there seize my inoffensive client by the collar—and tore his shirt!

A rather good example of anti-climax, and he must have managed the long words well and put the accent in the right places, for the audience was loud in approval. But, though he was eight years old, he had never heard applause before, and he scurried trembling to his seat, thinking that he must have made some terrible mistake.

The drill in Webster's blue-backed *Speller* was fully as intensive as that in reading. One copy served the whole family of Bakers, and shows hard wear, though they did not all turn out to be such notable spellers as Clementine, the oldest of the Davises. She knew the "blue-back" from cover to cover, and was very hard to "down" even with the dictionary. Her brother William was almost, not quite, as good. The Decatur school, taught by Mr. Triplett, once challenged this country school, which was known as the Ehrhart district, to a spelling-match. It was an exciting event, from which the country school returned, singing lustily, "We routed them, we scouted them, nor lost a single man!" And what put the keenest edge to their triumph was that it was William, their second-best speller, who had defeated every pupil of the town school, while Clementine, held in reserve lest he should miss, had not even been called to the floor!

"James Templeton Baker his Arithmetic this March 30 A D 1839," was written in a book compiled by Stephen Pike and published in Philadelphia in 1834. It claims to be a new and corrected edition; but the states

are listed in two separate tables (it seems that the value of their dollars varied considerably at that time) and one table gives only the original thirteen, while the other merely adds Vermont. Since there were twenty-four states in the Union before 1834, Mr. Pike would seem to have been, at least in that respect, a trifle behind the times. Boast is made on the title page that a large proportion of the problems are in federal money, but on a cursory examination I would say that more than half still deal with pounds, shillings, and pence. The answers are very conveniently given immediately after the problems, but even with that help I should certainly hesitate to tackle the "Promiscuous Questions" with which the book closes. Merely to read about Tare and Tret, the Nine Powers, Alligation, Exchange, and the Single and Double Rule of Three, sends shivers down my very unmathematical spine.

In schools of that day the "Three R's" did not always include history, and I do not know what text, if any, was studied formally. In 1848 the oldest daughter wrote to her grandmother in Tennessee: "James and me has got a history apiece of the United States with 2 maps and 2 charts each. They two were eight dollars and a half." Evidently a new book was an event, something to write home about! Neither was eight dollars and a half a small sum to be spent on books; for even twenty years after the first settlement, money was still scarce on the frontier and much business was done by barter. The boys of the family earned some money by digging quantities of ginseng roots, for which they received a few cents per pound. Not all they made was spent for books, but a good part of it was. My father bought his first one in 1847, when he was ten years old.

I will copy his own account of the transaction :

Speaking of Triplett reminds me that possibly he was Decatur's first bookseller. I know that the very first book I ever bought I got from him. He had his stock in trade spread out on a table in one of the rooms on the first floor of the old brick court house. I walked in and laid my whole capital, a silver five cent piece, on the table, and told him I wanted a book. As I had no idea what particular book I did want, he gave me a "Rough and Ready" Almanac, containing, in addition to the usual matter of an almanac, a brief historical sketch of Zachary Taylor's campaign in Mexico. Probably it was the only book he could afford to sell for five cents. It was hardly an appropriate one for a small boy, to be sure, but I read every word of it, and, whether or not it was responsible, I have loved history ever since.

Science was principally represented in this family by *Dick's Works*, two plump volumes of extremely fine print, the property of the eldest son. When he was married and took his books with him to a new home, the next youngest missed this book so much that as soon as he possibly could he bought another copy for himself. The author, Thomas Dick, was born in Scotland in 1774, the son of a weaver who destined him for the same trade. I quote now from the *Dictionary of National Biography*:

But the appearance of a brilliant meteor impressed him, when in his ninth year, with a passion for astronomy; he read, sometimes even when seated at the loom, every book on the subject within his reach; begged or bought some pairs of old spectacles, contrived a machine for grinding them to the proper shape, and, having mounted them in pasteboard tubes, began celestial observations. His parents, at first afflicted by his eccentricities, left him at sixteen to choose his own way of life.

He chose to work his way through the university, and he then became a preacher. After a decade of ministry, he took up teaching, and during some twenty years as a schoolmaster produced a number of essays and

treatises on a great variety of subjects, both religious and scientific. These comprise his "Works." One volume is largely devoted to astronomy, his major interest. In the other he gives information on geology, "chymistry," optics, pedagogy, hydrostatics, physiology, electricity and galvanism; he discusses itinerating libraries, the direction of public amusements, remedies for superstition, explosions in steam engines, proper clothing for children, the "Mania for Dancing in Paris," and many other subjects equally varied, not forgetting the "Connexion of Science with a Future State," "The Locality of Heaven," and "The Morals of the Antediluvians." Here was a wealth of material for inquiring minds, and they made good use of it. Both my uncle and my father developed an interest in all science, and particularly in astronomy, which never flagged, but was a source of pleasure to them all their lives, and has been passed on to their children and grandchildren. Following Mr. Dick's example, and largely by his instructions, they made telescopes for themselves; crude affairs at first, but improved upon as years went by, until they finally possessed quite good instruments which are still in use by their descendants. So the meteor of 1783, which had so great an effect on the Scotch weaver's son, is still, through him, influencing other lives, in another continent and another century.

No newspapers were printed in Macon County during the early days of settlement. The only mail was brought into Decatur from Shelbyville by a man or boy on horseback. Presumably he made the trip once a week, but there was considerable uncertainty about it. If the weather was bad, or he happened to "take down" with chills and fever, the mail was late—hours or maybe

days. If wolves chased him, he was apt to be ahead of schedule. Later there were stagecoaches that ran between Terre Haute and Springfield, and between Shelbyville and Bloomington, carrying mail as well as passengers. But still in the country districts news traveled mostly by word of mouth. My father, in writing of an incident that must have occurred during the 1840's, says: "No papers came to the house, and there was no library from which to get a book, and so it was very seldom that we were reached by any news from the outside world; and so any event that broke life's daily routine was magnified into a nine days' wonder." The first Decatur newspaper was *Shoaff's Family Gazette*, a weekly, which began publication in June, 1851. I do not know how soon our Baker and Davis families became subscribers, but cannot think they would have been long about it. My grandmother mentions the *Gazette*, and also the *Cumberland Presbyterian*, a church paper, in letters dated 1860.

In the year 1854 two railroads were completed through Decatur, and with their coming the pioneer period was definitely over. There was rapid agricultural and commercial advancement. The merchants all enlarged their stock in trade. The ill-fated Mr. Triplett had a successor whose wares could not all be displayed on one table in the courthouse. There were not only more books to buy, but, with better market for farm produce, more money with which to buy them. Moreover, it was now possible to subscribe to magazines.

One that was much read in the Baker household was *The Ladies' Pearl*, which was published from 1852 to 1870, first in Nashville and later in St. Louis. It was a denominational magazine, and distinctly religious in tone,

but contained also some articles in a lighter vein. There is one in the number for April, 1858, on "Popping the Question." There were in each number some recipes and fashion notes. It seems that Balmoral petticoats were all the rage in England because Queen Victoria had recently returned from Scotland wearing one, but the writer was doubtful whether they would be so popular in America. In another number the editor inveighed against ladies who then (as now!) wore "Furs of great thickness on their shoulders and hands, while on their heads and feet there is the next thing to nothing." There was also poetry of sorts in *The Ladies' Pearl*, and the eldest son, who was something of a versifier, contributed to it from time to time. Later on, though it may not have been until after the Civil War, they had *Peterson's Magazine*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, and others. Schools were improved throughout the county, and in 1856 the Mt. Zion Academy was opened a few miles away. This gave the younger members of both families opportunity for more advanced education than had been possible for their older brothers and sisters.

As I said in the beginning, my knowledge of what these two families read is limited and fragmentary. I have mentioned this book and that, but there may very well have been others of which I know nothing. As to whether they were typical of the pioneers in their hunger for books, I could not say, but I have a strong suspicion that they had more than most of the early settlers in this part of the country. Certainly what they had were thoroughly assimilated—read, re-read, and pondered over until to quote them was as natural as breathing. Not all their books were masterpieces, but the one they knew best was the King James Bible, and there is

no better example of great thoughts expressed in noble words. They formed their own opinions of what they read, undistracted by reviews, digests, and lists of best-sellers. In these swift-moving days, we who are deluged by torrents of print and by outbursts from the radio are more inclined to envy than to pity our forebears who lived in an era less complex. We have so many books that we possess none completely. They had few, but knew them. For they had the time, which we too often lack, not only to read, but to think.

THE PULLMAN STRIKE: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

BY HARVEY WISH

WITH the descent of the Panic of 1893 upon the country, the average American became more concerned with economic problems than with the old political and personal issues. Many of that generation had already experienced the general insecurity and industrial warfare associated with the depressions of the seventies and the middle eighties. The march of unemployed armies upon Washington, like those of Jacob Coxey, Lewis C. Fry, J. H. Randall, and Charles T. Kelly, though peaceful in intention, appeared as an ominous development in our industrial history.¹ In the huge Illinois coal fields, perennial labor discontent broke out in aggravated form. During the spring of 1894, the United Mine Workers of America, under the leadership of John McBride, inaugurated a national strike covering the mineral area from Pennsylvania to Iowa and from Indian Territory and Tennessee to Michigan.² In Illinois, as well as in other states, the militia was repeatedly invoked to deal with the situation. This was but the prelude to one of the greatest labor conflicts in American

¹ *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1894. The influence of urbanization upon industrial unrest is apparent from the rise in urban population and the corresponding increase in labor conflicts. *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1933), Tables 12, 14, pp. 20, 22-25.

² *Eighth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1894, p. 442 et passim. *Illinois Blue Book*, 1933-1934 (Springfield, 1933), 681.

history—the Pullman Strike of 1894. As the center of industry gravitated westward, Chicago frequently became the battlefield of industrial conflict. The Haymarket Affair had already established the city's reputation for militancy; now the Pullman Strike was to overshadow it in extent and significance.³

The Pullman Car Company, which enjoyed a monopoly of railway sleeping-car manufacture by virtue of its patents, was established in 1867 with a capital of \$1,000,000. In 1880, it bought 500 acres of land for its "model town" and plant. Under the paternalistic regime of George M. Pullman, the company town was modern in design, well-kept, and had its own church and library. The employee-residents, however, were indifferent to the aesthetic benefits derived, and competent observers were skeptical of Pullman's philanthropy. Settlement authorities such as Jane Addams noted that rents, which were fixed by the company, soared from twenty to twenty-five per cent above rents for similar accommodations in Chicago. Nor did the depression bring any reduction in rents, though a number of salary reductions were put into effect. The federal commissioners later declared:

The conditions created at Pullman enable the management at all times to assert with great vigor its assumed right to fix wages and rents absolutely, and to repress that sort of independence which leads to labor organizations and their attempts at mediation, arbitration, strikes, etc.⁴

While wages had been drastically reduced upon the

³ The history of the Pullman Strike can be drawn from unusually rich materials. Shortly after the strike, through the efforts of Dr. Carroll D. Wright, commissioner of labor, a federal investigation was held in Chicago which reviewed the testimony of principals on both sides. See *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894* (U.S. Sen. Exec. Doc. no. 7, 53 Cong., 3 sess., Washington, 1895).

⁴ *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xxiii.

advent of the depression, the generous salaries paid to high officials remained untouched. During the fiscal year ending July 31, 1893, dividends of \$2,520,000 had been distributed and wages of \$7,233,719.51 paid; but for the year ending July 31, 1894, dividends rose to \$2,880,000 while wages dropped to \$4,471,701.39. The company enjoyed a paid-up capital of \$36,000,000 and a lump surplus of \$25,000,000 in undivided profits.⁵ The average daily wage, earned on a piece-work basis, in most departments was about ninety cents, while the rent approximated eleven to twelve dollars per month.⁶ Union activities were strictly proscribed but seem to have been secretly developing for some time before the strike.

At length a workmen's committee approached Thomas H. Wickes, the second vice-president, on May 7 to ask for a return to the wage schedule of June, 1893. They were told that this was impossible since the company was losing money on contracts for the purpose of keeping the men employed. An alternate request for a reduction in rent was rejected on the ground that only three per cent was being earned on Pullman's rental investment. On May 10, when three of the committee were discharged for alleged lack of work, the local unions voted to strike.⁷

The next day, some two thousand men left their posts with the assurance of support from the powerful

⁵ *Report on the Chicago Strike, passim.*

⁶ William H. Carwardine, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1894), 80.

⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, May 10, 1894. While Pullman's claim that he was then operating at a loss is demonstrably true, there is little reason to accept the contention that he was continuing operation as an act of charity to labor. The Strike Commission reported: "The commission thinks that the evidence shows that it [the Pullman Company] sought to keep running mainly for its own benefit as a manufacturer, that its plant might not rust . . . that it might be ready for resumption when business revived with a live plant and competent help, and that its revenue from its tenements might continue." *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xxxv.

American Railway Union. The company then closed its shops and George Pullman left for the East. The Railway Union, under the militant leadership of Eugene V. Debs, had recently been victorious over James J. Hill of the Great Northern in an eighteen-day strike which had restored seventy-five per cent of current pay cuts.⁸ The Union had been organized the previous summer and claimed a membership of 150,000 railway employees. Its arch-enemy was the General Managers' Association, organized in 1886 as a national organization and having as members the twenty-four railroads "centering or terminating in Chicago." It represented a mileage of 40,933 and a capitalization of \$2,108,552,617. Each member paid an assessment for such services as that of furnishing strikebreakers, maintaining a national blacklist, upholding a common schedule of wages, and dealing with related problems of employment. Discontented employees were regularly met by a committee of the Association rather than by the heads of their particular plant. A total of 221,097 employees were subject directly to its rulings.⁹ As the federal commissioners later wrote:

The association is an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislators.¹⁰

It was to meet this national combination that the A.R.U. had been formed.

On June 21, the Railway Union voted in convention

⁸ Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1925), I: 404-407. *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 1894. The *Tribune* caricatured the Pullman strikers in a cartoon of a well-dressed worker with a banner reading, "If we cant have pie we wont have bread." *Ibid.*, May 13, 1894.

⁹ *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xxviii. Carroll D. Wright, "The Chicago Strike," *American Economic Association Publication*, Ser. I (1894), 33-50.

¹⁰ *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xxxi.

to refrain from handling Pullman cars on and after June 26 unless Mr. Pullman would consent to arbitrate. All members would refuse to handle the sleeping cars; inspectors, switchmen, engineers, and brakemen would not perform their duties as far as these cars were concerned. If attempts were made to replace the boycotters, declared Debs, every union man would strike.¹¹ The Pullman Company entrusted its cause to the General Managers' Association and refused to deal with the strikers. The A.R.U. was ignored. Thomas H. Wickes, second vice-president, announced to the press, "As the men are no longer in our employ we have nothing to arbitrate."¹²

Eugene Debs, the strategist of the strike, was not as yet a Socialist in the Marxian sense. Like other trade unionists he was influenced by the teachings of Laurence Gronlund who advocated a co-operative commonwealth with several of the features of state socialism. He hoped that the successful issue of the strike would be a first step in the direction of governmental ownership of the means of transportation and communication.¹³ His instructions as to strategy were coupled with repeated injunctions against violence in any form since the latter would provide a basis for military intervention. Up to the moment of his arrest he was able to keep the situation under control.

The railway union began its work first upon the great

¹¹ *Chicago Tribune*, June 23, 1894.

¹² *Ibid.* Wickes was later asked by the Federal Labor Commissioner: "Don't you think that the fact that you represent a vast concentration of capital, and are selected for that because of your ability to represent it, entitles him [the employee] . . . to unite with all of the men of his craft and select the ablest one they have got to represent the cause?" To this Wickes remarked: "They have the right; yes, sir. We have the right to say whether we will receive them or not." *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xxvi.

¹³ Testimony of Eugene V. Debs, *ibid.*, 170. *Chicago Tribune*, July 1, 1894. Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York, 1920), 91.

national lines. Switchmen who were ordered on June 26 to attach Pullman cars to the Illinois Central trains refused and their subsequent discharge brought about the strike of the remaining union men. By the next day employees of the Northern Pacific and the Santa Fe lines had joined the sympathetic strike.¹⁴ On the twenty-ninth, the General Managers' Association accepted the gage of battle by announcing that no striker would ever be re-employed by the road whose services he left.¹⁵ Soon the Association was importing private detectives into Chicago despite the Illinois law of 1893 forbidding their employment in industrial disputes.¹⁶ On July 3, just previous to President Cleveland's despatch of federal troops to Chicago, the *Times*, then under the supervision of Carter H. Harrison Jr. (later mayor) and Willis J. Abbot, declared significantly:

There has been no rioting in or about Chicago; no blood has been shed; no one has been killed; and were it not for the clamorous utterances of a number of Chicago newspapers, which at this time seem anxious to foment trouble through distorted reports of the labor strike, the average citizen would affirm that the great city of Chicago was never in a more pacific mood than at present.¹⁷

Bulletins were issued by the Chicago Superintendent of Railway Mail and the General Managers' Association confirming the free passage of the mail and of passenger trains for July 2-3, although delays in freight occurred.¹⁸ Chief of Police Michael Brennan, in his official report, declared that "until July 4 there was little or no trouble at any point within the limits of the city of Chicago."¹⁹

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, June 27, 1894.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1894.

¹⁶ *Chicago Times*, July 3, 1894.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 27, 1895.

¹⁹ Report of the Superintendent of Police, *Chicago Municipal Reports* (1894), 11.

The unusual expedient of Attorney-General Richard Olney in sending federal troops to Chicago, in spite of an apparently contrary constitutional provision,²⁰ requires explanation. On June 28, Olney appointed Edwin Walker, who was affiliated with the General Managers' Association, as special attorney for the national government. Of this act, Clarence Darrow remarked: "The government might with as good grace have appointed the attorney for the American Railway Union to represent the United States."²¹ In a telegram to Walker, Olney clearly revealed his intention to break the strike:

It has seemed to me that if the rights of the United States were vigorously asserted in Chicago, the origin and center of the demonstration, the result would be to make it a failure everywhere else and to prevent its spread over the entire country. . . . But I feel that the true way of dealing with the matter is by a force which is overwhelming and prevents any attempt at resistance.²²

Despite the fact that Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois was sending troops to the various points requested by local authorities and that Olney had approved his course in the current coal strike,²³ he was ignored this time by the United States Attorney-General. Instead, Olney prepared to obtain the issuance of blanket injunctions tending to paralyze the leadership of the American Railway Union. This was done largely on the strength of the federal commerce power and also, according to Olney's view, could be based on the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890—an act never intended to

²⁰ Art. IV, Sec. 4. Olney's act, based on Civil War Reconstruction statutes, whose application he had once severely condemned, was later upheld by the federal Supreme Court; *In Re Debs*, *U.S. Supreme Court Reports*, 158: 564 ff.

²¹ Clarence S. Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1932), 61.

²² *Annual Report of the Attorney-General of the United States for the Year 1896*, *House Documents*, Vol. 23 (54 Cong. 2 sess., Doc. no. 9, part 2, appendix), 60-61.

²³ Governor's Message, *Sen. Journal*, 39 General Assembly III. (Springfield, 1896), 29 ff.

apply to labor organizations.²⁴ Instructions were issued to Edwin Walker on July 1 providing for the application of the injunction against Debs and his associates for the following day. Judge P. S. Grosscup of the federal district court, and Judge William A. Woods of the United States circuit court, issued the injunction preventing any person from "directing, inciting, encouraging, or instructing any persons whatsoever to interfere with the business or affairs, directly or indirectly" of the railway companies.²⁵ Judge Grosscup remarked privately that he opposed such employment of the judiciary in labor disputes because it was partisan action.²⁶

The American Railway Union had had experience with the injunction during the Great Northern strike a short time previously and had successfully ignored it. Its members prepared to repeat their performance now. Debs telegraphed to a western branch of the A.R.U.: "It will take more than injunctions to move trains. Get everybody out. We are gaining ground everywhere." The *Chicago Times*, alone of the Chicago metropolitan dailies, denounced the injunction as a menace to liberty and asserted that if it was good law then there was no sense in maintaining labor organizations.²⁷ On the other hand, the railway operators all over the country recognized the magic which Olney had performed at Chicago and telegrams poured into the office of the Attorney-General requesting an injunction "like the Chicago bill." Federal injunctions were issued frequently

²⁴ See *In Re Debs*, *U.S. Supreme Court Reports*, 158: 564 ff. Olney pleaded before the Supreme Court that the Sherman Act should be liberally construed since labor organizations represented combinations of capital.

²⁵ *Report on the Chicago Strike*, 180.

²⁶ Grosscup to W. Q. Gresham, reprinted in James A. Barnes, "Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890-1896," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1931 (Springfield, n.d.), XXXVIII: 44.

²⁷ *Chicago Times*, July 4, 1894.

in anticipation of strikes in southern Illinois, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and Wisconsin.²⁸

Olney now prepared the capstone of his legal structure—the sending of federal troops to Chicago. On July 2, Walker telegraphed Olney: “It is the opinion of all that the orders of court can not be enforced except by the aid of the Regular Army.”²⁹ The “federal” representatives who co-operated in this move were then, according to the *Tribune*, meeting in an office adjacent to that of the General Managers’ Association in the Rookery Building. Olney decided to permit Walker to judge of the exact time for the introduction of federal troops. The “overt act” could not be found in Chicago; hence alleged rioting in Blue Island, outside of the city limits, served as the basis for military intervention. John W. Arnold, the United States marshal, telegraphed to Washington that no force less than the regular troops could procure the passage of mail trains or enforce the orders of the federal court.³⁰ This telegram was accompanied by another from Walker declaring that it was “of utmost importance that soldiers should be distributed at certain points within the city by evening.”³¹

In a conference with President Cleveland on the Pull-

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, *passim*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 64. Several telegrams of importance appear to be omitted in Olney's Report to Congress, for on July 3, he wrote to Walker: “Legal situation could not be improved. . . . Understood you think time for use of United States troops has not yet arrived. . . . Rely upon you to advise me when the exigency necessitates use of troops.” *Ibid.*, 66.

³⁰ Telegram reprinted in Grover Cleveland, *The Government in the Chicago Strike* (Princeton, 1913), 25-26.

³¹ *Annual Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 66. It is to be noted that the documents cited in this correspondence were not made public until 1897 when Congress demanded their submission.

man Strike, General Nelson A. Miles, who was in command of the troops ordered to Chicago, stated that "he was subject to orders, but that in his opinion the United States troops ought not to be employed in the city of Chicago at that time."³² To this General Schofield objected, and he supported the Olney program of intervention. Arrangements were made for the transportation of the entire garrison at Fort Sheridan to the lake front in Chicago.

The Railway Association expressed its satisfaction with the action of President Cleveland. General Manager Egan of the Association declared that the fight was now between the government and the A.R.U. The railroads were no longer concerned.³³ The strikers were correspondingly depressed. Debs predicted that the first shots fired upon the mobs in Chicago would be the signal for civil war.³⁴ Anticipating trouble, Chief of Police Brennan ordered the city policemen to guard the trains conveying the military to camp. During the night of July 3, the troops were brought into Chicago. Brennan later testified:

On July 4th trouble began. The workingmen had heard of the federal trooops and were incensed. . . . There was trouble at Halsted Street and Emerald Avenue and on the Lake Shore tracks.³⁵

General Miles reported on July 5 that a mob of several thousand was moving eastward along the Rock Island Railroad "overturning cars, burning station-houses and destroying property." He asked Schofield for permission to fire on mobs obstructing trains.³⁶ By the sixth, mat-

³² John M. Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army* (New York, 1897), 494.

³³ *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1894.

³⁴ Interview with Debs, *Washington Post*, July 5, 1894; reprinted in Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland* (New York, 1932), 622-23.

³⁵ Report of the Sup't of Police, *Chicago Municipal Reports* (1894), 13.

³⁶ Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, 499-500.

ters became worse. Mobs threatened to hang the federal marshals and the policemen. Military reinforcements were deemed necessary.

To demonstrate the popular feeling in favor of the strikers, Debs asked all sympathizers to wear white ribbons on their coat lapels. This met with strong response. To one union leader he wired:

Calling out the troops is an old method of intimidation. Commit no violence. Have every man stand pat. Troops cannot move trains. Not enough scabs in the world to fill places and more occurring hourly.³⁷

In another telegram he declared:

Strong men and broad minds only can resist the plutocracy and arrogant monopoly. Do not be frightened at troops, injunctions, or a subsidized press. Quit and remain firm. Commit no violence. American Railway Union will protect all, whether member or not when strike is off.³⁸

A meeting of citizens on Boston Common passed a resolution endorsing the strike and declaring that Olney had delivered the federal government "to the railroad kings."³⁹ The *Chicago Times* accused Cleveland of making the bayonet dominant in American affairs and asserted that the presence of the federal troops in Chicago had done more to inflame passion than to suppress violence.⁴⁰ The strikers, however, had few such articulate supporters in the press of the country, and relied upon popular demonstrations of sympathy.

The situation in other parts of the country was not unlike that at Chicago. In California, particularly, public sentiment was against the Southern Pacific Railroad for monopolistic practices before the strike, and the

³⁷ *Alton Daily Sentinel-Democrat*, July 18, 1894.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Annual Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 126.

⁴⁰ *Chicago Times*, July 5, 1894.

introduction of federal troops stirred up a fresh antagonism to the railroads. When the militia of Stockton and Sacramento were called out to fire upon the crowds, the soldiers removed cartridges from their guns and refused to use bayonets.⁴¹ After the strike, which had resulted in considerable destruction of property, a federal district attorney, Joseph H. Call, stated that there was an overwhelming sentiment not only against the railroads but against the government as well, due to a conviction that the laws of the nation were being enforced with great severity against laboring people and not against the corporations. He added:

I do not hesitate to speak plainly when I say, that in my opinion, if the United States Government can not protect the people of the Pacific States against these monopolies, it will require a larger standing Army than the Government now possesses to uphold the power and dignity of the United States.⁴²

Nor were the situations in Illinois and California unique. In order to enforce the Walker-Olney type of injunction federal troops were sent to Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wyoming.⁴³

As the railroad strike spread over Illinois, Governor Altgeld, who had scarcely disposed of the urgent problems arising from the coal areas, now was compelled to devote much of his time to the employment of militia in the new industrial dispute. He conferred constantly with the Adjutant-General of Illinois and other officers, preparing to put 100,000 men in the city of Chicago if it became necessary.⁴⁴ His experience with the demands

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 22 ff. *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1894. *Chicago Journal*, July 3, 1894.

⁴² *Annual Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 35.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 35 ff.

⁴⁴ Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903* (New York, 1912), I: 148-49.

of the railroads for troops was similar to the situation in the coal strike. Attempts were made by the railroads to utilize the militia in order to run trains whose crews had struck. This was thwarted by Altgeld whenever possible. In one instance where troops were ordered to one point and found no riot but a line of trains without crews, several soldiers were compelled to act as engineers and brakemen to transport the militia home.⁴⁵ At Danville crowds of strikers opposed the movement of all trains, except mail cars.⁴⁶ Altgeld showed his willingness to prevent any cases of actual rioting but refused to become a convenient pawn for the General Managers' Association.

In the midst of these policing activities, Altgeld now learned that the Cleveland administration, ignoring the state and local authorities, had sent troops to Chicago. His indignation was immediately aroused for he suspected that a deliberate attempt was being made to set a precedent by which federal troops could be sent to any state long before any violence occurred in order to intimidate strikers. He therefore determined to request the immediate withdrawal of federal troops. On July 5, Altgeld addressed a long telegram to President Cleveland outlining the situation in Chicago and the rest of the state as an indication of the unjustifiability of sending troops there. He stated that the local officials had been able to control the situation and that nobody in Cook County, whether official or private citizen, had even intimated to him that the assistance of the state militia was desired. The application for federal troops, he charged, was made by men who had "political and

⁴⁵ Governor's Message, 1895; *Chicago Evening Journal*, July 2, 1894.

⁴⁶ John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), 924.

selfish motives" for ignoring the state government. The federal marshal for the Northern District had but to ask for military assistance of Altgeld in order to get it. He concluded with a reference to the constitutional issues of the case:

The question of Federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment, but, under our Constitution, Federal supremacy and local self-government must go hand in hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution.

As Governor of the State of Illinois, I protest against this, and ask the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from active duty in this State. Should the situation at any time get so serious that we cannot control it with the State forces, we will promptly ask for Federal assistance, but until such time, I protest, with all due deference, against this uncalled-for reflection upon our people.⁴⁷

President Cleveland, who later described this telegram as "frivolous,"⁴⁸ made a brief, formal reply. He stated that the troops were sent to Chicago in order that obstruction of the mails should be removed, that the processes of the federal courts might be served, and upon proof that conspiracies against interstate commerce existed. Cleveland was actually disturbed, however, and discussed the Altgeld telegram with his cabinet.⁴⁹ Two cabinet members, Walter Q. Gresham and Richard Olney, later expressed their contempt for the Governor, the former declaring that Altgeld's telegram was "state's rights gone mad."⁵⁰

But neither the authority of the president nor the criticisms of the press, which now easily recalled that Altgeld had pardoned the surviving Haymarket prisoners in 1893 and hence loved anarchy, were able to hush

⁴⁷ The complete official correspondence appears in *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois, 1893-1894* (Springfield, 1895), xl-xliv.

⁴⁸ Cleveland, *The Government in the Chicago Strike*, 41.

⁴⁹ *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1894.

⁵⁰ *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 7, 1894.

the outspoken Governor. He replied at once to Cleveland with another long telegram, criticizing the president's stand and concluding:

This assumption as to the power of the executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a government of law, and not a government by the caprice of an individual, and further, instead of being autocratic, it is a government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess, or claim to possess, greater power than is possessed by the executive of the United States, if your assumption is correct.

Cleveland, who was temperamentally the antithesis of Altgeld, later remarked that his "patience was somewhat strained" by the "rather dreary discussion" of state's rights and the dangers to constitutional government.⁵¹ His reply consisted of a sentence denying Altgeld's charge of executive usurpation and declaring that discussion might well give way to active co-operation on the part of all authorities. Cleveland remarked privately to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Curtis that he proposed, regarding the strike, to "stand up and stamp this out if it takes the whole army and militia to do it."⁵²

Shortly after the cabinet meeting, Olney issued a public statement scathingly reviewing Altgeld's telegrams.⁵³ The soil of Illinois, he declared, was the soil of the United States and for all national purposes, the federal government could be there with its courts, its marshals, and its troops, not by mere permission, but as a right. Altgeld's idea of the sacredness of the terri-

⁵¹ Cleveland, *The Government in the Chicago Strike*, 44.

⁵² Curtis to his mother, July 7, 1894, reprinted in James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle, Financial Statesman* (New York, 1931), 332. In this letter Curtis declared: "We are all very much bothered about the strikers at Chicago and elsewhere. . . . I think Altgeld ought to be whipped."

⁵³ *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1894; *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1894.

tory of a state, according to Olney, had become extinct with the close of the Civil War. He hinted that if necessary the militia of other states might be brought into Chicago. Olney's conversion to the doctrines of centralization had been comparatively late. In 1875, as a Democrat, he had attacked the Grant administration for its intervention in Louisiana in words similar to those in Altgeld's telegram of 1894:

Apparently, it [the administration] meant to assert that the President might enter a State with troops, to suppress disorder and violence at his own discretion, upon his own view of the exigency, and without waiting for the consent or request of the State itself. No more glaring attempt at usurpation can be imagined. If successful it would revolutionize our whole governmental system; if successful it would clearly annihilate the right of local self-government by a State, which could be exercised thereafter only by the sufferance and kind permission of the Federal Government.⁵⁴

Meanwhile other American governors were finding federal intervention in their states as objectionable as in Illinois. Governor William J. Stone of Missouri protested to Cleveland that the use of federal troops to protect the mails was a mere pretext to set aside local authorities. He declared that there was no disorder that could not be put down by state and local authorities.⁵⁵ From Colorado, Governor Davis H. Waite wrote a bitter letter to Cleveland announcing that the federal troops were carrying on war in that state and would permit no interference by county or state officials. He demanded to know by what right the federal marshal had suspended the writ of habeas corpus in Colorado. Arbitrary arrests without any warrant were being

⁵⁴ *Boston Post*, Jan. 16, 1875, reprinted in Waldo R. Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois* (New York, 1924), 169-70.

⁵⁵ *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, July 7, 1894.

made.⁵⁶ Governor James S. Hogg of Texas wired the President that he would not tolerate federal troops in his state unless he was first consulted, and attacked the "order to invade Illinois."⁵⁷ Similar protests came from Governor Sylvester Pennoyer of Oregon and Governor Lorenzo D. Lewelling of Kansas.⁵⁸

Since both Mayor John P. Hopkins of Chicago and Sheriff Gilbert of Cook County had refrained so far from calling on the Governor for aid, Altgeld sent an official representative, Assistant Adjutant General Bayle, to the city for an investigation of the reports concerning strike violence.⁵⁹ As he received confirmation of rioting on the premises of the Illinois Central Railroad, he wired to the president of the railroad that he should ask the mayor and Sheriff Gilbert to request assistance from the state; if both refused, then Altgeld would furnish troops regardless. On the same day, July 6, the Governor sent this telegram to his brother-in-law and partner, John W. Lanchart, who represented Altgeld's interests in Chicago:

The federal troops having accomplished nothing in Chicago so far, I want Hopkins to relieve the situation before they can get their

⁵⁶ *Chicago Journal*, July 6, 1894. In a letter to a federal judge, Governor Waite quoted the U.S. Marshal as expressing a willingness to use horse thieves, thugs, and hoboos, so long as they could fight. *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ John Swinton, *Striking for Life* (n.p., 1894), 415-16.

⁵⁸ *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1894. This newspaper editorialized on Altgeld: "In a moment of general insanity the people of Illinois elected a Governor who is the faithful friend of the sworn enemies of society." *Ibid.* In Congress a resolution was passed commending Cleveland for his vigorous policy in the strike. *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. XXVI, Part VIII, p. 7,544 ff. During the congressional debate, Pence of Colorado accused Olney of being a counsel for one of the railroad corporations, a stockholder in another, and a member of the board of directors of several railroads. The use of federal injunctions was denounced by Richard Bland of Missouri. Senator Palmer of Illinois, who severely arraigned Altgeld's telegram to Cleveland, had himself protested a similar intervention by President Ulysses S. Grant during the Chicago Fire of 1871 when Palmer was governor. *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer* (Cincinnati, 1901), 366-67.

⁵⁹ F. D. P. Snelling to Waldo R. Browne, Nov. 20, 1922 (MS in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

reenforcements in, in order that the city officials and State troops may get the credit. It is very important for his administration that this should happen. . . . Hopkins being on the ground will be worth more than a regiment of soldiers. The two country regiments will begin to arrive tonight. See him at once . . . show him this telegram and insist on his acting along this line.⁶⁰

The Governor hoped to obviate the presence of federal reinforcements by the immediate presence of sufficient militia at all threatening points. Mayor Hopkins found the assistance opportune. He professed a deep contempt for the regulars who, he declared, sat on top of box cars rather than do their duty as needed. Up to the morning of July 6, no railroad companies had called upon him for protection.⁶¹ By this time, however, the situation was steadily getting out of the control of his police. Many of the latter were in sympathy with the strikers and squads would disappear in the crowds without result. Hopkins ordered the discharge of all such policemen.⁶² To maintain order he had issued a general proclamation on July 5 asking all citizens to refrain from meeting in crowded places.⁶³ The lawlessness was chiefly along the railroad lines, where more than one hundred box cars had been destroyed, many stations demolished, and even telegraph lines cut. The federal troops were kept busy supporting the marshals in making arrests of injunction-violators. Of the twenty-three roads centering in Chicago only six were in complete operation. General Nelson Miles of the federal troops reported that trains moving in and out of the city had been stoned or fired upon by mobs; one engineer

⁶⁰ Telegram of July 6, 1894 (Governor's Letter Book, Archives Division, Illinois State Library, Springfield).

⁶¹ Testimony of John P. Hopkins, *Report on the Chicago Strike*, 345-52.

⁶² *Chicago Journal*, July 6, 1894.

⁶³ *Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1894.

had been killed.⁶⁴ At 11:30 A.M. on July 6, shortly after receiving the Governor's instructions, Hopkins called for five regiments of militia.⁶⁵

The request for state troops was complied with immediately, Altgeld ordering the Chicago and Aurora brigades into action.⁶⁶ To Brigadier-General Horace A. Wheeler, who was stationed in Chicago, he wrote an admonition that all unnecessary bloodshed was to be avoided. "There is no glory in shooting at a ragged and hungry man," he said.⁶⁷

The situation which the militia was called on to cope with was a difficult one. On July 5, the seven largest buildings of the World's Fair in Jackson Park had been set on fire, resulting in the death of one man and injuries to four others.⁶⁸ The correspondent for the *New York Tribune* reported that on July 6, for the first time since the strike began, a feeling of alarm had permeated the community.⁶⁹ The militia was compelled to patrol a wide area over the city and its suburbs. At the Union Stockyards, where, up to that time, federal troops had failed to move the meat, the militia succeeded in clearing the blockade, thus preventing a threatened food shortage.⁷⁰ Reports from various parts of the state outside of Chicago indicated that the militia played a major part in overawing resistance.

On July 7 occurred the most serious affray of the strike. A crowd had gathered at 49th and Loomis streets to watch a wrecking crew raise an overturned

⁶⁴ Miles to the Secretary of War, July 6, 1894 in Cleveland, *The Government in the Chicago Strike*, 31-33.

⁶⁵ Telegram of Hopkins to the *Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1894 (MS in the Gilpin Library, Chicato Historical Society).

⁶⁶ *Report of the Adj. Gen. of Ill., 1893-1894*, p. xxiii.

⁶⁷ Altgeld to Wheeler, July 6, 1894, Governor's Letter Book.

⁶⁸ *Chicago Daily News*, July 6, 1894.

⁶⁹ *New York Tribune*, July 7, 1894.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Adj. Gen. of Ill., 1893-1894*, p. xxvi.

box car. A regiment of state militia stood on guard. They were hooted and stoned; several shots were fired at them. When the commander's order that the crowd should disperse met with derision, the soldiers were directed to load. The crowd, emboldened by the forbearance of the militia, knocked down four soldiers and the lieutenant. Upon this, orders were given to fire at will. Four men were fatally wounded and twenty others seriously hurt.⁷¹ According to Lieutenant David J. Baker, a federal officer attached to the regiment, this incident virtually ended violence on any appreciable scale thereafter.⁷²

A study of the available evidence concerning the responsibility for violence during the strike corroborates Altgeld's theory that the rioters were not, in most instances, former railway employees. A reporter for the United Press, W. J. Guyon, who was a close observer of events in Illinois, later confirmed this analysis. He was even asked by the officials of the American Railway Union to help them in apprehending rioters.⁷³ Lieutenant Baker reported that the burning of box cars was done by toughs but that "the tampering with switches and couplings, and the blockading of trains, was done by strikers."⁷⁴ Chief of Police Brennan made this significant report:

In some cases there were strong suspicions that the fires were set by Deputy United States Marshals who hoped to retain their positions by keeping up a semblance of disorder. . . . While there were some honest men among them a large number were toughs, thieves, and ex-convicts. . . . Several of these officials were arrested during the strike for stealing property from railroad cars. In one

⁷¹ *Report of the Adj. Gen. of Ill., 1893-1894*, pp. 174-75.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Alton Daily Sentinel-Democrat*, Aug. 21, 1894.

⁷⁴ *Report of the Adj. Gen. of Ill., 1893-1894*, p. 178.

instance two of them were found under suspicious circumstances near a freight car which had just been set on fire. . . . They [the deputies] fired into a crowd of bystanders when there was no disturbance and no reason for shooting. . . . One of them shot and killed a companion by carelessly handling his gun and another shot himself.⁷⁵

In Chicago, the amount of property damage totaled \$355,612, of which \$338,972 was a single item of July 6 when the fire department was unable to make adequate water connections at an outlying area.⁷⁶ For the nation as a whole, the amount of property loss was estimated at \$80,000,000.⁷⁷

During the second week of July, Olney was pressing for federal reinforcements, but Walker, who was working steadily on the case against Debs and his associates, objected, suggesting that the President should issue a proclamation ordering rioters to disperse as a preface to martial law in Chicago.⁷⁸ Accordingly, Cleveland issued such a proclamation on July 8 affecting some nine states.

Despite an initial rebuff the American Railway Union continued to look for a possible basis for arbitration. Mayor H. S. Pingree of Detroit, Mayor Hopkins, and officials of the A.R.U. formed a committee to meet with the General Managers' Association but the latter refused to consider arbitration.⁷⁹ From the East, George

⁷⁵ *Chicago Municipal Reports* (1894), 15. A similar opinion appeared in the *Chicago Record*, July 10, 1894. The General Managers' Association was aware of the type of deputies being appointed. On July 9, for example, Walker wired to Olney, "At the risk of being thought meddlesome, I suggest that the marshal is appointing a mob of deputies that are worse than useless." *Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 76. Several deputies who were arrested for murder were defended on the advice of Olney. Another theory that the destruction was the work of *agents provocateurs* on the European model is supported by some important, if hearsay, evidence. Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, I: 102; *Chicago Municipal Reports* (1894), Sec. II, Part 9.

⁷⁶ Governor's Biennial Message, 1895.

⁷⁷ Carroll D. Wright, *Amer. Econ. Ass'n. Pub.*, 1894, 33-50.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Attorney-General, 1896*, Appendix, 74-77.

⁷⁹ *Chicago Record*, July 6, 1894. Mayor Pingree claimed to have received telegrams from mayors of fifty large American cities, urging arbitration.

M. Pullman declared to the press that he opposed arbitration because it violated the principle of private property. The wage question was "settled by the law of supply and demand."⁸⁰ Vice-president Wickes, in response to the committee's request for arbitration, threatened to move the Pullman factories to New Jersey.⁸¹ The General Managers' Association insisted that the sole issue was whether the A.R.U. should be permitted to dictate to the American people as to what sort of cars they might travel on and under what conditions.⁸²

Organized labor, under the leadership of Debs, was not yet ready to yield. Plans for a general strike throughout the country beginning Wednesday, July 11, spread consternation. In Chicago, a wholesale exodus of union men occurred on the first day: teamsters, painters, cigar makers, bakers, carriage makers, wagon makers, workers in the building trades, and affiliates of the Knights of Labor.⁸³ Each of these trades claimed special grievances of its own. An unprecedented situation in American industrial history—an incipient general strike—was taking place.

Now came the great coup of Walker and Olney. On

⁸⁰ *Chicago Daily News*, June 29, 1894. *Report on the Chicago Strike*, 556.

⁸¹ *Chicago Journal*, July 9, 1894.

⁸² *Chicago Times*, July 10, 1894. Debs defended the strikers' position in an interview: "It has been asked: What sense is there in sympathetic strikes? Let the corporations answer. When one is assailed, all go to the rescue. They stand together, they supply each other with men, money, and equipments. Labor, in unifying its forces, simply follows their example. If the proceeding is vicious and indefensible, let them first abolish it." *New York Tribune*, July 6, 1894.

⁸³ *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1894; *Chicago Daily News*, July 11, 1894. There are evidences of sympathetic strikes as far back as the history of organized labor extends. Most of them appear to have been failures as far as immediate objectives are concerned. In 1891, there were four instances of sympathetic strikes; in 1892, three; and in 1894, twelve, besides the great strike involving twenty-four railroad organizations. *Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1887; Strikes and Lockouts* (Washington, 1888), *passim*; also, *Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1894; Strikes and Lockouts* (Washington, 1896), I: 162-261; II: 1,673-78.

July 10 orders had been issued for the arrest of the leading A.R.U. officials—Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W. Rogers, and Sylvester Kelihier—for contempt of the court injunction.⁸⁴ Walker had been unwilling to act until he had successfully subpoenaed Western Union Telegraph to produce all telegrams sent by Debs and other officials during the strike. The telegraph company had protested, and even Olney remonstrated: "The Government, in enforcing the law, can not afford to be itself lawless."⁸⁵ Walker prevailed however. The success of his course was admitted by Debs who later declared during his trial:

The strike was broken . . . not by the army and not by another power but simply and solely by the action of the United States Court in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of our employees. . . . Our headquarters were temporarily demoralized and abandoned and we could not answer any message.

The coup de grace to the Pullman Strike was given by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, upon whom the strike leadership devolved. He had been opposed to the militancy of the American Railway Union as too radical and now declared that a general sympathetic strike would react unfavorably upon the cause of labor. On July 12, Gompers prepared the report of the Federation stating that the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor could not join in any general strike and recommended that all return to work.⁸⁶ The General Managers' Association then proceeded to reap the fruits of its toil, and refused to deal with any labor leaders. It

⁸⁴ *Report of the Attorney General, 1896*, Appendix, 78.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁶ Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, I: 411.

marshalled its forces in such a way as to insure to each road the maximum advantages in dealing with the returning men.⁸⁷ The subsequent rejection of active union men by their former employers effectually crippled the Railway Union. As for the Pullman workers, a large number of them were rejected and compelled to appeal to Governor Altgeld for relief—a plea which not only brought food but also moral support from the “Anarchist” at Springfield, who took this occasion to publish a bitter arraignment of George M. Pullman and his policies.⁸⁸ Sentence was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States against Debs in a noted case of American constitutional history which confirmed the new doctrines of centralization; and he remained in jail to emerge as a determined Socialist, convinced that only a total displacement of the prevailing economic system could right the wrongs of his class.⁸⁹

The Pullman Strike has had notable repercussions in our history. It was the occasion for Governor Altgeld’s writing of the famous planks in the Democratic platform of 1896 stigmatizing “government by injunction”⁹⁰ and federal intervention in industrial disputes. For labor the Pullman defeat meant a definite shift in leadership to the less adventurous American Federation of Labor and the consequent victory of craft unionism. State experiments in the creation of arbitral and mediation boards received a new impetus, laying an important foundation for subsequent labor legislation. For some

⁸⁷ *Report on the Chicago Strike*, xli ff.

⁸⁸ *Chicago Times*, Aug. 21, 1894. For the serial exposé of subsequent conditions at Pullman see the *Times*, Dec. 11 to 15.

⁸⁹ For an interesting view of the Debs case, see Darrow, *The Story of My Life*, 66 ff.

⁹⁰ The denunciatory phrase “government by injunction” seems to have originated from a private remark of Judge Murray F. Tuley of Chicago. Interview with George A. Schilling, former Secretary of Labor Statistics of Illinois, 1893-1897, Dec. 10, 1935.

of the thoughtful men of the nation the episode revealed sharply the incompatibility of many of the prevailing economic attitudes and the challenging problems of an increasingly complex industrial order.

HAZELWOOD, ITS MASTER AND ITS COTERIE

BY FRANK E. STEVENS

I

THE year 1837, diabolical in its devastating sweep over the country's business life, was toppling the loftiest fortunes and hurling them into hopeless wreckage. Great concerns, considered capable of resisting any assault, were being crushed into intangible and useless bits and scraps. Everywhere a state of financial ruin prevailed where the preceding year people had pursued their several vocations, happy for the present and with lofty ambitions and expectations for the future. In the midst of this financial earthquake and its attendant ruin, strong men faltered and then fell helpless before the staggering blows.

Some, of stronger mold, crawled from beneath the mountains of debris, shook themselves for another round in the fight, and, resolving never to admit failure in any crisis, squared themselves, however hopelessly perhaps, for the effort to rebuild and re-establish. Others turned their faces westward in a resolve to get away from it all by seeking happier skies that were inviting them, even to the wilderness whose asylum promised at least freedom from the withering blasts of panic and

business troubles.¹ One of these giants, of towering strength and purpose, was Alexander Charters of New York City, the storm center of this merciless destruction.

This man had read of the West, its inviting freedom, its opportunities, and especially its possibilities for business in and around the lead mines of Galena, where great fortunes were made; but more attractive to him were the stories of the country's beautiful wildness as well as its historic settings. Since the year 1832 eastern newspapers had been singing almost extravagant praises of the Rock River country. In that year the Indians under Black Hawk had been driven from the country, leaving the white race to take it over and establish a great middle western empire.

The great migration westward in 1835 had taken thousands from the East and left them in the Rock River country with Dixon's Ferry as a focal point. Once established, each one of those thousands was writing back home vivid pictures of its towering cliffs and its fertile valleys, and modest Dixon's Ferry had assumed an importance next to the lead mines. It nestled at the junction of the two great thoroughfares of the state, one from Chicago to Dixon's Ferry surveyed in 1833 and established as a stage route in 1834; the other from Peoria and the South, through Dixon's Ferry to the lead mines, established in 1825 by Oliver W. Kellogg. The great Frink and Walker stage lines in 1834 had made this point division headquarters for the mail routes and their

¹ Out of this financial wreckage it did not seem possible for the firm of J. & A. Charters ever to repay a huge sum borrowed in England from Cryder's Bank. Correspondence, now in the possession of George C. Dixon, from John Cryder in 1844 shows the account to have been sued on in 1838 and judgment thereupon rendered on October 13, 1839, for \$42,132.86. This correspondence also mentions "other heavy creditors." Albert Marinelli, clerk of the county court, New York City, furnished the date of the judgment.

stagecoach activities, and John Dixon, the ferryman, had a good business. It was claimed that he was a man with money, always able and willing to employ and pay for help.

The Rock River valley was a spot of beauty where man might take refuge and forget his troubles, or where he might loiter and square himself to make a new start and address himself to the pleasures and perhaps profit of helping to build up a new country; or if so constituted and disposed so to do, he might lose himself in the lure of the beautiful settings God had prepared for him who loved His wondrous works.

Alexander Charters, schooled to business pursuits, reared in university life, concerned with successful and busy enterprises, was broad of shoulder, large of intellect and brave of heart, but he had his sentimental side. He was full of love for the glories of Nature; the Indian legend caught his ear; the urge of tree and hill and valley appealed; and now, confronted with the alternative, he resolved at once to leave the wreckage of his lifework and plunge into the forest, there to forget his troubles where giant oaks would greet him and lend their loving companionship and tender their comfort and loyalty in fending off the storm of other disasters. Indeed, such disasters could not invade the fastness of such a refuge.

Little time was lost by Alexander Charters in making a decision and in mapping a plan of action. Calling to his aid a younger brother, Samuel M. Charters, the brother was directed to seek Dixon's Ferry, plunge into the forest while there, explore the material and sentimental features of the country round about, and lay a claim, as it was then called, to an inviting spot where

he, Alexander Charters, might go to live in retirement, peace and comfort, and forget his troubles in the glories of his surroundings; where cares might not invade and where the hospitality of a land of plenty might be enjoyed and dispensed to his friends and fellow men.

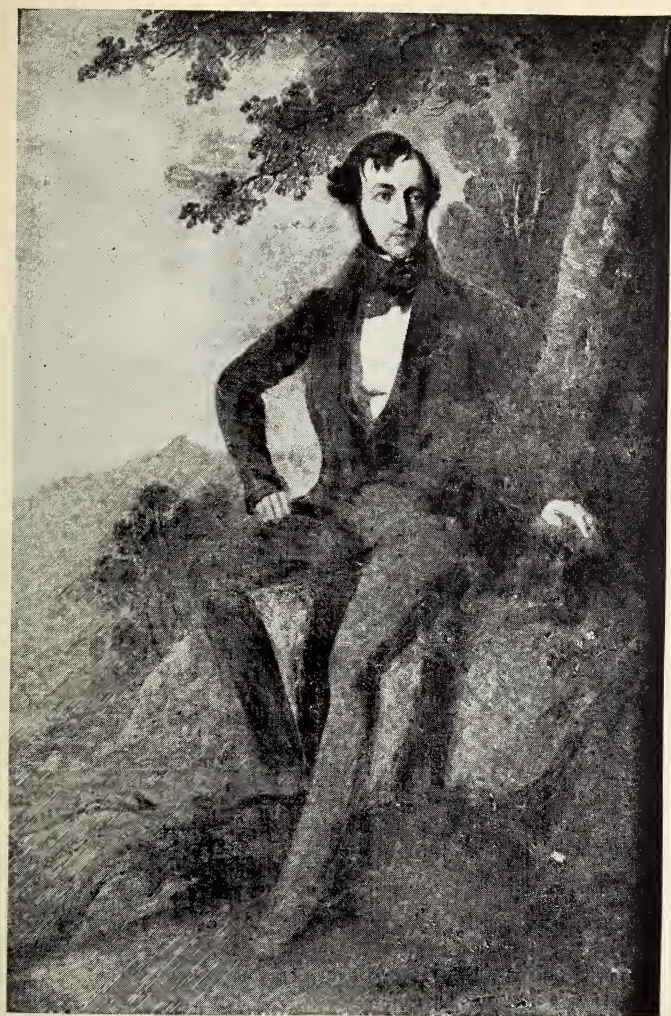
In the year 1837, Samuel Charters reached Dixon's Ferry; he found the most beautiful spot in all the great West, a section of land—six hundred and forty acres.² The land was not then on the market so he chose it as a claim, to hold until the same might be posted later for sale by the government, then entered in the local land office, paid for and patented to the entryman. His duties performed, which included building a log cabin, he reported his actions to Alexander who, in 1838, started for Dixon's Ferry.

Alexander Charters loaded his belongings into a sailing vessel, took with him his servants and some friends, and sailed to New Orleans. From that point, by steamboat, the party followed the Mississippi and Rock rivers to Dixon's Ferry, where they disembarked on the north bank of Rock River within a short distance of old Fort Dixon.³ A distance of about three miles directly north was traversed, and then Alexander Charters moved into the log cabin provided by his brother, Samuel, who had met him.

On the instant, Alexander became interested in the new country and its people. John Dixon presented a striking appearance. Though not an aged man, his

² The legal description of the land selected is: "1st, all of North East fractional quarter of section 20, township 22, North, of range 9," which was entered in the name of Samuel "J." Charters on June 1, 1841, and patented to him on May 1, 1843. The remainder of section 20, south of Rock River, was entered on June 2, 1842 by John Tappin, a New York City friend, and patented to him on June 26, 1845.

³ It is now considered reasonably certain that Charters reached Dixon's Ferry on the steamboat *Gypsy* in April, 1838. The boat also carried a consignment for Leonard Andrus of Grand Detour and made the delivery there.



ALEXANDER CHARTERS AS A YOUNG MAN



flowing locks of snow white hair gave him a venerable appearance. He had commanded the attention of the Indians who had forthwith named him Na-Chu-Sa, meaning Long Hair White. Mr. Dixon was kind and gentle. He was honorable to the last degree. He gave to Alexander Charters every assistance and invited him to ask for further aid whenever needed. John Dixon, known practically all his lifetime in Dixon as "Father Dixon," besides being the ferryman, had used his large log house as a hotel and store. Mrs. Dixon, universally called "Mother Dixon" for her gentleness, invited the Charters family to feel at liberty to call upon her and her family whenever necessary, especially in time of sickness.

Alexander Charters was charmed at this manifestation of kindness. Such overtures excited his love for everything western, present and past as well as prospective. What, for instance, was yonder little log-made building with portholes? It must have been built to destroy peaceful ways in this friendly country. John Dixon, who had participated in the late Indian war, explained that it had been built in 1832 by Zachary Taylor for the troops sent to fight Black Hawk and protect the frontier from his murderous raids, but now in the enjoyment of peaceful days, it was falling into a state of decay. And these peaceful days were at that moment witnessed by a constant stream of travel to the lead mines over yonder road or trail known as Kellogg's Trail, which ran directly past the new Charters claim.

Kellogg's Trail was established or "run" in 1825 by Oliver W. Kellogg, a brother-in-law of Mr. Dixon, for the purpose of providing for the people of southern Illinois better transportation to and from the lead mines than was afforded by water up and down the Mississippi.

The mines not only provided the miner who worked them on his own account a fine profit, but they also afforded employment at good wages, especially during the winter months, for all who came. For this reason, people from the south end of the state were in the habit each autumn of traveling to the mines for employment during the winter and returning to their farms in the spring.

During the Red Bird insurrection or Winnebago War, in the year 1827, people in the mining district became frightened and for a season left it until the scare subsided, as it did very soon with the surrender of Red Bird. With the return of confidence a mail route was established from Peoria to Galena in 1828 and Mr. Dixon became the first mail carrier between the two points. With increasing business he was able to buy the ferry from its owner, Joseph Ogee, in 1830, and now the same Kellogg's Trail became not only the stage route for Frink and Walker's stages for mail and passengers but for an almost constant caravan of people, wagons and horses. Mr. Charters had the good fortune to secure his claim on the line of this trail as modified, and the constant travel on it made danger from lonesomeness remote.

With these added features to consider, Charters settled himself comfortably in the midst of his household treasures, the only physical reminders, aside from the family, to recall the days that were. Here was the rare oil painting made of him when much younger. There was the spinet to whose music the countryside was to dance in years to come; rarest of old china, linens, imported glassware, costly and artistic objects of vertu; everything to supply a life of refinement and culture.

For a dooryard he had a broad sward, sweeping over to the edge of a cliff overlooking Rock River for miles. Composing himself for a mental survey of his new surroundings, Alexander Charters agreed that Dame Fortune had been generous with him and settled wisely and happily the most difficult problem of a lifetime, and then and there he took up a future of poetic serenity in the midst of poetic surroundings; in the midst of Indian legends; in a veritable fairyland without the dwarfs and disorders that elves and goblins might create. About his head resounded the songs of birds; the echoes too, of love songs by the aborigines, long since gone and not now vocal in a literal way, were present in all their tracery of romance and tradition.

The new estate was named Hazelwood,⁴ and from that cabin, hospitality was soon dispensed with open heart and lavish hand. What a welcome citizen he was and what a welcome the West was already giving him by dumping all of its traditions into his lap, and bidding him help himself!

On his arrival at Dixon's Ferry, Alexander Charters was prepared to find a wilderness of forest, so the contradictory feature of hundreds of people camping on the south side of Rock River awaiting their turn to cross it on the John Dixon ferry was quite unexpected. It was not difficult now to believe the statement that John Dixon was one man in the "wild west" possessed of ready money. He may have watched the crowds take up their several ways along Kellogg's Trail but he was more than satisfied to remain at Hazelwood.⁵

⁴ Instead of naming the estate after the hazel brush everywhere plentiful, he may have named it after the "Hazelwood Park" of his native Belfast.

⁵ Originally, Kellogg's Trail was run farther to the east. In 1826, however, one Boles made a cut-off and brought it over what later became Hazelwood. But the newer cut-off carried the old name, "Kellogg's Trail."

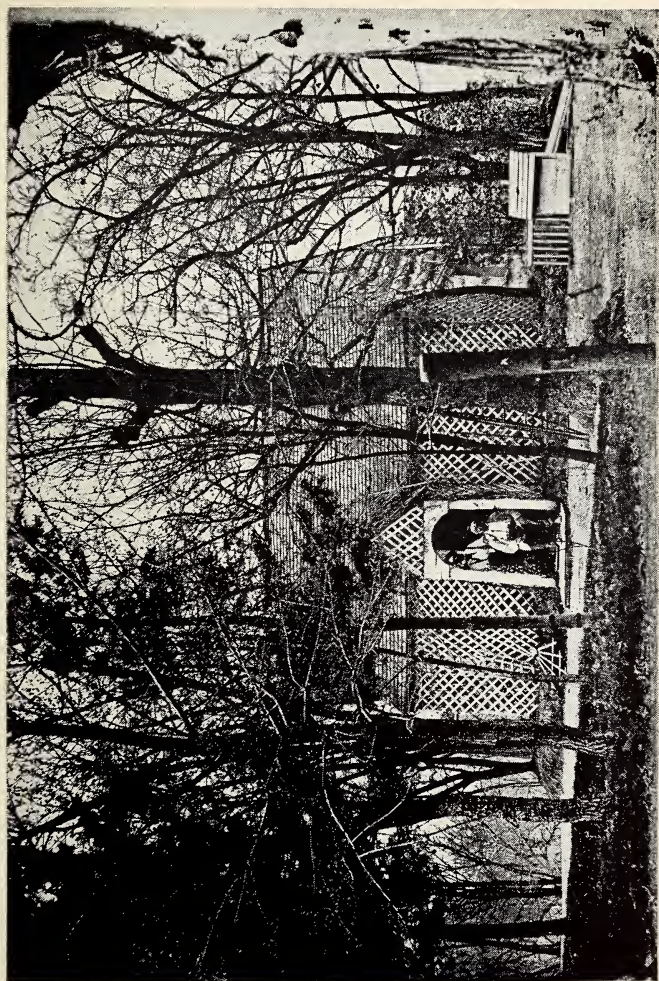
With each day some new story came to him about the fame of Dixon's Ferry. Very soon Charters learned that Major John Dement's soldiers had passed up Kellogg's Trail to "Kellogg's Old Place" where they met the Indians and in a furious fight put a stop to Black Hawk's depredations. He also heard of the great crowds of soldiers that had camped at Dixon's Ferry, but little could he realize until years afterwards, that Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor, the officer who had built Fort Dixon, was to become President of the United States, and that two other officers who had gathered there were Captain Abraham Lincoln and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis. Lieutenant Robert Anderson and Lieutenant Albert Sidney Johnston, later of Civil War fame, and General Winfield Scott and his aide, Joseph E. Johnston, were of the number and had crossed Hazelwood. Later in life, when the activities of those 1832 actors startled the world, Alexander Charters gloried in the knowledge that their beginnings in life centered themselves around Dixon's Ferry and his own homestead.

II

Alexander Charters came from a distinguished ancestry. His family had emigrated to Belfast, Ireland, from Scotland many years before his birth. He was born at Belfast on July 7, 1800.⁶ His father, Alexander Charters, was born in the same city and lived there all of his life, a leader in business and civic affairs. All the advantages of culture and wealth were given the younger Alexander.

His schooling finished, the young man was ambitious to follow in the footsteps of his father and step out into

⁶ *History of Lee County* (pub. by H. H. Hill and Co., Chicago, 1881), 836.



CHARTERS' FIRST HOME AT HAZELWOOD



the great business world on his own account. His father readily consented to let him go to New York at an early age, some have said at seventeen, enter a store, there to serve an apprenticeship and later, about the year 1827, to enter business on his own account as junior member of the firm, J. & A. Charters, linen merchants. At all events, in the year 1828 his name appeared for the first time in a New York City business directory as a linen merchant⁷ and continued to appear in later directories until 1838, when it was no longer included in the list.

During the period 1817-1830, he made frequent visits, we are told, to the old home in Belfast for business reasons and remained there for considerable periods. Indeed, a Belfast directory for 1821 recorded him as a resident.⁸

During one of those visits he was united in marriage with Miss Ellen Boomer, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Boomer, the father a large manufacturer who possessed great wealth. It has been said that Mr. Boomer, the father, was an earl, but after careful investigation made in Belfast, no evidence can be found to substantiate that statement. Another assertion to the effect that Boomer married the daughter of an earl, instead of himself being an earl, fails of substantiation. Boomer started the first cotton manufacturing plant in Belfast, but later converted it into a linen factory.

Young Alexander Charters extended his visit in Belfast until the birth of his only child, James Boomer Charters, on July 11, 1831.⁹ Very soon after that birth the mother died and the care of the child was left to the

⁷ Information supplied by the New York State Library, Albany.

⁸ Statement of Frances M. Milligan of Belfast to the author.

⁹ *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Lee County*, edited by A. C. Bardwell (Chicago, 1904), 714; *History of Lee County* (pub. by H. H. Hill), 836.

Boomer family who cared for him tenderly until he reached man's estate. At the same time, Alexander returned to New York City. During the period of Alexander Charters' business career in New York City we find the Charters place of business located at 72 Pine Street and his residence at 64 White Street.¹⁰

Alexander Charters is mentioned as one of the members of the "Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" of New York, chosen at a meeting held in 1827 to petition the legislature to incorporate the Society which originally was organized in 1784.¹¹ The desired act of incorporation was passed by the legislature on February 13, 1827 and from a record of the organization it is learned that Alexander Charters was one of the incorporators and at one time was its secretary.¹² Until his departure for Dixon's Ferry, frequent allusions to him in the press of the day would indicate his popularity socially and his importance in a business way.

The initial "J" in the firm name, J. & A. Charters stood for John, probably a brother.¹³ Some have said that he was the father of George Washington Charters, conspicuous in the Charters affairs, especially those of Alexander Charters. Gossip and guessing have figured so extensively in reciting the glories of historic old Hazelwood, that the historian, bent upon learning the truth, is put to no end of trouble. Among other things the gossips have insisted that John Charters never left Belfast for America. Investigation has proved that statement to be incorrect. In the first place, excluding the

¹⁰ Information supplied by the New York State Library from a directory of New York City.

¹¹ Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (5th ser., New York, 1870), V: 276.

¹² In the New York State Library.

¹³ Statement by Frances M. Milligan of Belfast to the author.

shadowy work of inference found in the Hubbard diary of 1846, the *Dixon Telegraph* includes his name as number two in a petition requesting John V. Eustace to become a candidate for representative in the state legislature.¹⁴

A letter written by Francis Forsyth, now in possession of Charles R. Walgreen, has this to say about the presence of John Charters at Hazelwood:

I wish I could give you a perfect picture of that witty, genial old Irish gentleman, Gov. Charters; to speak of him just as he was, the prince of entertainers. . . . John Charters, the heavy drinker of the lot. . . . By some means they sent him back to Ireland for his health; perhaps his habit had something to do with it.

Samuel Charters' visits at Hazelwood in 1837, and again in 1848, when he brought his young daughter there to live, were more or less obscured in uncertainty until the diary of Charles F. Hubbard¹⁵ indicated that Sam's visits at least were frequent.

Membership in the Alexander Charters party which came to Hazelwood included one Mr. Kennedy; George H. Foote, then a small boy, who remained at Hazelwood until his death; a colored cook named Charity Ringgold,¹⁶ the first colored person to reach Dixon's Ferry; and three or four others, seeking new locations. It may be pertinent to add at this point that another colored person, nicknamed "Cupid," became the Governor's cook and handy man. This story would be incomplete with Cupid left out. For years he was as well known as Hazelwood. James W. Reardon, "Captain," also early became a member of the household and re-

¹⁴ Sept. 13, 1856.

¹⁵ "September 25, 1844. Going to see Sam Charters who has just returned." Hubbard Diary (MS owned by J. B. Lennon, Dixon, Ill.).

¹⁶ The late Thomas Page remembered Charity Ringgold very well.

mained there for years.¹⁷

With an establishment so large and the added numbers of guests drawn thence by the constantly growing popularity of Hazelwood, the necessity for larger quarters than those afforded by the little log cabin soon became apparent. Very soon then, Alexander Charters planned the erection of a suitable frame mansion. It is doubtful if at that time there existed a solitary frame house between Peoria and the lead mine area. Sawmills were just beginning to appear and their output was small, but with an order like the one which Alexander Charters proposed to place, the sawmill men eagerly promised the required service. Fortunately the largest as well as the first one, called Dana's Mill, had been built in 1836 by W. G. Dana on Pine Creek.¹⁸

To this sawmill, Alexander Charters addressed himself, and through its enterprising proprietor the needed lumber was secured to build a huge white manor house and a great barn. Into this rare new home Charters moved, and threw open its front door to receive guests. To make it more hospitable, he later built a one-story frame addition, and installed therein a billiard table. In this house he lived for the remainder of his long life and in it he died. Hubbard mentioned it frequently in his diary, and after reading a few of its entries, one is impressed by the outstanding social qualities of the master of Hazelwood, and by the large number of people he entertained at his home in its earliest days.

Holding a claim by the slender rights of a mere squatter may be considered today as a tenure altogether too uncertain to warrant the construction of two build-

¹⁷ Hubbard's diary of the forties and the Forsyth letter mentioned above, both refer to him.

¹⁸ *Sketches of the History of Ogle County, Ill.* (pub. by H. R. Boss, Polo, Ill., 1859), 69.

ings as expensive as the manor house and the barn that Alexander Charters was building. But such was not the case then. The government favored as much as possible the squatter's claim as a vested right that might even be sold and transferred. Moreover, what protection the government might be unable to extend was provided by organized vigilance committees, supplied with rifles and men behind them who did not hesitate to shoot. Thus protected, few uncertainties remained, aside from boundary alignments, and these the federal government was bringing into form with all convenient speed by its surveys, thus providing legal descriptions for the settler or squatter to use when entering his land after it had been thrown upon the market. The removal of the United States Land Office from Galena to Dixon in 1840 was fortunate for the Hazelwood neighborhood because one might step into the office of the receiver, pay his \$1.25 per acre for his land, take with him his receipt for a legal subdivision and be assured that a patent for it would be issued in due time.

The federal surveyers who surveyed the township in which Hazelwood was located are named in a letter written by the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, D. C. to Congressman-at-large, Lewis M. Long, of Sandwich, Illinois, who in turn, sent it to the author:

Mar. 5, 1937

Hon. Lewis M. Long
House of Representatives
MY DEAR MR. LONG:

I have received your letter dated February 25, 1937, relative to the public surveys in the vicinity of Dixon, Illinois, T. 22, N.R.9, East 4th P.M. in Lee County.

The above township was surveyed as shown on the plat approved December 15, 1840, which was approved by William Milburn,

Surveyor of Public Lands in Illinois and Missouri. A note on the plat states that the west boundary was surveyed by William S. Hamilton in the third quarter of 1834, and partially resurveyed by William S. Hamilton and Charles R. Bennet in the third quarter of 1839. In the fourth quarter of 1839, D. A. Spaulding under joint contract with John D. Whitesides [Whiteside] and Jacob Judy, executed partial resurveys and surveyed certain islands. The subdivision and meanders were surveyed in the fourth quarter of 1839 by John D. Whitesides.

The plat approved April 28, 1848, shows the surveys of certain islands in the Rock River by Solomon Parker in December, 1847 and March, 1848....

Very respectfully,

FRED W. JOHNSON.

Commissioner

Thus early Hazelwood was made a legal entity by famous men! William S. Hamilton! A name to conjure with! Son of Alexander Hamilton, famous lawyer of Illinois, officer in the Black Hawk War, a cattle drover, a lead mine operator at Hamilton's Diggings. While at Galena his mother had visited him, traveling via Hazelwood and Kellogg's Trail to reach that place. John D. Whiteside! Member of the famous Whiteside family which furnished heroes in two wars in Illinois and in innumerable Indian raids. A defender of Campbell's Island in the murderous attack by Black Hawk and his gang in the War of 1812. General Samuel Whiteside, another member of that family, was commander in chief of the first army of volunteers in the Black Hawk War and for him Whiteside County was named. Jacob Judy! Of the famed Judy family that settled in Kaskaskia in 1788 and fought off the Indians in their night raids, making the country safe for the white man. Important also were the Judys in the political affairs of our state.



MANOR HOUSE, HAZELWOOD



The presence of members of those three families as godfathers at the virtual birth of Hazelwood, gave the place an *éclat* quite imperishable, notwithstanding the famous finishing touches placed thereon by Alexander Charters.

In those early days, titles of General, Colonel, Major, and Captain were so common that an individual without some such designation was almost a curiosity. It was natural, therefore, that Alexander Charters should blossom with a title of his own. In accordance with a custom of the old country, the master of an estate was addressed as "the Governor" by those around him, and in addressing Alexander Charters, it was the custom of family members to speak of him as "the Governor." Therefore when George Foote was one day overheard referring to him as "the Governor," the title spread quickly over the countryside and persisted unto death.

Among those who came without such titles, at practically the same time, in 1837 and 1838, were the Wetzler and Bradshaw families, both distinguished for their social and cultural relations in New York. They became upstream residents. Other upstream persons were Guy Carleton Bayley and his brother, Richard Bayley, brothers of the future Archbishop of Newark, New Jersey, and intimately connected with many old families of New York. The Henshaw family that settled near Oregon in 1838, on Rock River, also became a part of this famous colony.

Downstream, on the south side, was Charles F. Hubbard whose diary has introduced us to many of the idiosyncrasies of the time and of the people. Near him were some young gentlemen neighbors, familiarly known as the "Bluff Boys."

But one more remains to be named: John Shillaber, who came later but who quickly was recognized for his eccentricities, which perhaps he felt were warranted by his possession of money. He sought the West and the Hazelwood country because he loved them. To him the Rock River was another Hudson. For this reason he came, rather than because of financial tempests. He was born in Salem, Massachusetts and spent his early life there. Later he became a merchant and a United States Consul in Batavia, Island of Java. He settled in Palmyra township not far from Hazelwood. But with all of his money and all of his eccentricities, neither he nor his farm, "La Grange," could seriously rival the Charters personality or Hazelwood.

There is some doubt as to the year Shillaber settled there, but in the diary kept religiously by Charles F. Hubbard, it is fixed with tolerable accuracy as the year 1844. Hubbard says:

March 21, 1844—went over river—met Crawford,¹⁹ and men running out lines for Shillaber. The division between us is about where I supposed it to be.

The natural inference would be that Shillaber was locating the subdivision lines of his farm but recently acquired. John Tharp Lawrence, who also kept a diary, confirms this year. Furthermore, it would seem he proposed to let his neighbors know that he and his "La Grange" farm were on the map permanently because later Hubbard records the statement:

Mr. Shillaber making an arrangement for a great wolf hunt.²⁰

Naturally such an event, entirely new, would pro-

¹⁹ Joseph Crawford was county surveyor of Lee County.

²⁰ June 21, 1844. The Hubbard Diary is in the possession of J. B. Lennon, Dixon, Ill.

vide excitement and perhaps amusement, but wait ten days more when Mr. Hubbard records:

Went to Dixon and to the races at Bradshaw's—Mr. Shillaber [gave a] purse [of] a saddle, bridle and martingale—very poor quality by the way.²¹

By December 20, 1844, Mr. Shillaber seems to have subsided into practical ways because on that date, Mr. Hubbard says:

Wilson is hauling fallen wood out of the timber—Shillaber has given him the supervision of the grove.

Hubbard seems to have cultivated a dislike for Shillaber and his ways although the record must differ somewhat with the diarist. The common sense features of the man in some things seemed to irk others of less prevision. For instance:

July 22, 1845. Very warm—light wind westerly—borrowed John's cradle and assisted Tom to cradle his wheat. Becker in tribulation about his crop—hands very scarce—worth \$1.50, i. e. what Mr. Shillaber gives and he monopolizes them—shall lose some of my grain most probably.

III

John Shillaber's prominence in the community demands further inquiry into his activities. In November, 1851, he brought to Dixon an item of such good news to the community that it seemed for the moment as though the population of Dixon might be doubled in an hour. Announcement was made of the certain and speedy building of the much advertised Illinois Central Railroad. Dixon had been kept in a state of mental ferment about this road since the year 1837 when its route through Dixon was jeopardized by the city of Sterling

²¹ July 1, 1844.

and then killed, for the time, by the panic which bankrupted the state of Illinois. Here is the message that sent the thrill up and down the community spine in 1851:

CENTRAL RAILROAD

We are informed that Mr. Shillaber has received private letters that he can rely on, stating that the company had secured the loan of the money for the completion of this great work, the tidings of which we may all hail with joy.

We are informed that both corps of engineers, from both North and South have now completed their surveys, until they are ready to let contracts, when further engineering will be necessary. Judging from where the surveys run to the river on both sides, the crossing will be just below the town at the head of the bluff on the north side.²²

And that was exactly the alignment of the road built across Rock River in the year 1855.

That reference in the message to the surveyors, which declared "when further engineering will be necessary," was of portentous significance to the destiny of Hazelwood. In the early day two stories were current about those engineers and the route of that railroad northerly from Dixon. The first story had the engineers running their lines across Hazelwood in such a manner that the railroad when built would almost hopelessly destroy the beauty of fair Hazelwood. Charters protested, but the engineers obstinately refused to change the route.

The other story, and the one that seems the better to account for the giant swing the road makes from Dixon to the right and then off to the left rather than by a straight line to Woosung—the next station to the north—is as follows: When Charters learned the road was going straight to Woosung, leaving out Hazelwood

²² *Dixon Telegraph*, Nov. 12, 1851.

entirely by a couple of miles, he protested that it should run up along the edge of Hazelwood so that passengers might see its beauties (thus adding value to his estate). When the surveyors appeared inexorable, they were invited to be Charters' guests at a party he wanted to give them. Nobody would refuse an invitation to dine at Hazelwood, so the engineers eagerly accepted. They ate heartily and it is said they drank deeply, and when daylight had arrived, Charters' desires and requests had been granted. Later in 1855, when track laying began, the rails were made to take the giant swing, and then when Hazelwood was reached they were conveniently laid to one side of the estate and the beauty of Hazelwood was preserved for the benefit of the passengers and the pleasure of its master. In this case there was used an effectual brand of persuasion of which Charters was a past master.

Along with this little story about a local change of route, the first and very bitter fight in the Dixon neighborhood should be mentioned. It occurred about the year 1837. When Cairo instituted its fight to build this road, Dixon was an accepted candidate for its favor. It is unnecessary to follow that old "Central Railroad" through the years of doubt and then failure in the late thirties. The road had been surveyed and then was graded as far north as Dixon. Dixon had been made headquarters for depositing all manner of supplies for the "Rail Road" and for all the "Internal Improvements." It was thought nothing could affect its prestige as headquarters until one day the city of Sterling, through its citizens, presented a petition to the Illinois legislature asking that the route and the grade be changed from Rocky Ford and made to run through

Sterling, rather than Dixon, thus obviating an alleged enormous expense.

Instantly the Dixon hustlers bestirred themselves and presented a huge counter petition to the legislature to counteract the possibility of removal. But the Panic of 1837 defeated the ambition of Sterling by stopping work all along the line from Dixon to Cairo and the project remained dead until revived as mentioned in the later message of John Shillaber, already quoted, to the effect that Dixon was securely possessed of the then Illinois Central Railroad in its path northwesterly to Dunleith, now East Dubuque, Illinois. John Shillaber was not yet settled on his farm at the time of this furore, but if he had been a resident it is almost certain that he would have thrown all of his resources, intellectual and financial, into the effort to head off the Sterling petition.

Shillaber may have been something of a freak, but he was loyal to Charters and intensely loyal to everything pertaining to Dixon, availing himself of every opportunity to advertise and boom the place. He delighted in bringing good news to his home town, and when another project was considered in the nature of a team and foot bridge across the river in Dixon, he lent his assistance with time and money. This project at the time was better news of course than the Central Railroad item.

BRIDGE ACROSS ROCK RIVER AT THIS PLACE

We are pleased to learn that the following named gentlemen were elected directors of the company, on the 5th instant: Col. John Dement, Col. C. [Cyrus] Aldridge [Aldrich], John Shillaber, J. B. Brooks, John V. Eustace, Carleton Bayley, I. S. Boardman, Lorenzo Wood and E. [Eli B.] Baker.

The names of the above gentlemen are a sufficient guarantee that the work will be promptly done.²³

Shillaber as much as any, and more than most, actively assisted until Dixon had its bridge completed. The first Galena Street bridge, a worthy successor to the old backwoods ferry established in 1828 by Joseph Ogee, who had secured a license from the state for that purpose, came later. Shillaber was just as enterprising in his farming operations, and whatever may have been his foibles, he was a valuable man to Dixon and vicinity. An account of the early settlers of Palmyra Township (Lee County) includes the following description:

"Lord John Shillaber," as he was generally called, was quite a noted character, well remembered by all the early settlers, who owned a large tract of land near our northern boundary. He came there from Massachusetts and bought a section of land for the purpose of founding a colony; the scheme failed, leaving him an unwilling landed proprietor. . . . At one time he had nearly the whole of his domain in wheat, which was all cut with the old "turkey-wing" cradles, and bound by hand. Great difficulty was experienced in procuring sufficient help in time to save the grain. The farm was afterward stocked with sheep, to the number of 700; shepherd dogs were employed to look after them. Hunting dogs were also kept for the benefit of sportsmen. He was a widower, but kept up a large establishment with the aid of colored servants, often entertaining in grand style. Among other pets were parrots and monkeys, one of the latter often accompanying his master in the fine carriage, sitting beside him, with the colored coachman in front. He was a very intelligent, well informed man, who had traveled in foreign countries, spending some years in the West²⁴ Indies, where his son had a large indigo plantation. Many old settlers remembered with gratitude his favors to them, in lending them books from his fine library, magazines, London illustrated papers, etc. It was always a joyful occasion for the children when he came, as his pockets were always stocked with nuts or candies

²³ *Dixon Telegraph*, May 14, 1851.

²⁴ This should have read "East Indies." Shillaber's foreign residence was on the Island of Java. See *ante*, p. 328.

for their benefit. The writer of this sketch has a hazy remembrance of these favors and of being presented with a bird also by the great personage we regarded as a second Santa Claus.

His health failed and he returned to his native land, where he died a few years later. The great estate was divided and sold. Many years later the old homestead became the property of the late Wayne H. Parks, where he resided many years.²⁵

The diary of John Tharp Lawrence, mentioned above, had much the same to say of Shillaber. Therein he also fixed the Shillaber entrance into the country at the year 1844. He mentioned Shillaber's enterprising qualities, then quite uncharitably he added, "and in about five years failed utterly, and the lawyers were picking his bones."

Shillaber's desire to write letters for the papers has been cited as a weakness, and it was charged against him. Rumor had it that he furnished copy for much of his home paper's output at Salem, Massachusetts, but investigation failed to find any signed letters there. On the contrary, while running through an old file of the *Prairie Farmer*, I unexpectedly ran into much of his correspondence. In the *Dixon Telegraph* a long letter is found naming the advantages of the Hussey reaper over the McCormick machine.²⁶ But very soon misfortune came to him. On January 29, 1853, the *Dixon Telegraph* published an attachment notice stating that one Robert Chown had levied on certain of the Shillaber lands to satisfy a claim of \$900 due him from Shillaber. A little later, Shillaber left Illinois for the East and on September 20, 1853, he died at Danvers, Massachusetts in the house owned by a sister.²⁷

²⁵ *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County* (pub. by Inez A. Kennedy, Dixon, 1893), 509-10.

²⁶ *Dixon Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 1852.

²⁷ Letter to the author from Mrs. Phyllis D. Archambault, of East Lynn, Mass., March 7, 1937.

These early, outstanding men, though divergent in their ways, were men of intelligence; they were energetic, patriotic, perhaps a little vain about their titles; perhaps in some instances a little self-conscious; but they afforded a brilliant setting for Hazelwood and drew other settlers there in the early day, hundreds of them. They came in such numbers that it has been written: "From June, 1841, to November, 1842, the settlers in this vicinity had paid at the Land Office in Dixon, about \$280,000."²⁸

IV

As early as 1841, only three years after the arrival of Alexander Charters, his Hazelwood estate had reached a reputation for beauty so outstanding, and he himself had achieved a reputation for hospitality so commanding, that visits were made to him by people foremost in American life. Nor were these visitors confined to one class. The literary, the military, the professional and the civil lists in all walks of life, visited the place and testified to its attractions. First of these of whom we have a record was William Cullen Bryant, who, on a visit to his brother living at Princeton, Illinois, went up the Kellogg Trail to Dixon's Ferry for the express purpose of seeing Hazelwood and meeting Alexander Charters. On his return to Princeton, he wrote a letter, dated June 21, 1841, in which he referred modestly to his visit:

I have just returned from an excursion to Rock river, one of the most beautiful of our western streams. . . .

Dixon, named after an old settler still living, is a country town situated on a high bank of Rock river. Five years ago, two cabins

²⁸ *History of Ogle County* (pub. by Henry R. Boss), 64, quoting the *Rock River Register*.

only stood on the solitary shore and now it is a considerable village, with many neat dwellings, a commodious court house, several places of worship for the good people, and a jail for the rogues, built with a tripple wall of massive logs, but I was glad to see that it had no inmates. . . .

In the neighborhood of Dixon a class of emigrants have established themselves, more opulent and more luxurious in their tastes than most of the settlers of the western country. Some of these have built elegant homes on the left²⁹ bank of Rock river, amidst the noble trees which seem to have grown for that purpose. Indeed when I looked at them I could hardly persuade myself that they had not been planted to shadow older habitations. From the door of one of these dwellings³⁰ I surveyed a prospect of exceeding beauty. The windings of the river allowed us a view of its waters and of its beautiful diversified banks, to a great distance each way, and in one direction a high prairie region was seen above the woods, that fringed the course of the river, of a brighter green than they, and touched with the golden light of the setting sun.³¹

Bryant was not satisfied, apparently, to permit his enthusiasm and his praise to rest within so slight a notice as that contained within the letter, because later he sent out to the world his poem as follows:

A FOREST HYMN

The groves were God's first temples. Ere man learned
To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them,—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems; in the darkling wood,
Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication. For his simple heart
Might not resist the sacred influences
Which, from the stilly twilight of the place,
And from the grey old trunks that high in heaven
Mingled their mossy boughs, and from the sound
Of the invisible breath that swayed at once
All their green tops, stole over them, and bowed

²⁹ They were built on the right bank of the river.

³⁰ Alexander Charters' manor house.

³¹ *History of Dixon and Lee County* ([comp. by Frank Kurtz], Dixon, 1880), 8.

His spirit with the thought of boundless power
And inaccessible majesty. Ah, why
Should we, in the world's riper years, neglect
God's ancient sanctuaries, and adore
Only among the crowd, and under roofs
That our frail hands have raised? Let me, at least,
Here, in the shadow of this aged wood,
Offer one hymn—thrice happy, if it find
Acceptance in His ear.³²

This poem was recited by Judge John V. Eustace in his funeral oration at the grave of Governor Charters.

With such wide as well as eloquent acclaim for Hazelwood reflected far and wide from the magnetic personality of Alexander Charters, and spread over the literary horizon through the medium of correspondence for the newspapers great and small, it is small wonder that Philip Kearny—wealthy native of New York City, an officer in the United States Army, at one time sent by his government to France to study and report cavalry tactics, of a roving, adventuresome disposition—should listen to the romantic rumors emanating from Dixon's Ferry and Hazelwood, and that very soon Hazelwood should receive him as a guest. Just when the later General Kearny reached Dixon's Ferry is uncertain. The Peoria newspaper publisher, later mentioned herein, in writing up the place, including Charters' famous neighbors in 1839, mentioned "Carney's" proposed house which, however, never was built.

The Charters hospitality charmed Kearny and he declared to the "Governor" a desire to take up a claim close to Hazelwood on Rock River, where he might spend his declining years. The presence in Richland County, Illinois of his relatives and friends, the John

³² William Cullen Bryant, *Poems* (New York, 1854), 105-106.

M. Wilsons and the William Ferrimans,³³ may easily have been an influence in favor of the state, and the reputation of Dixon's Ferry and Hazelwood and Rock River may have done the rest. At all events, Kearny visited Charters, and the land adjoining Hazelwood, known now as Lowell Park, and now belonging to the city of Dixon, appealed so strongly to Kearny that he bought off the squatter who was holding down the claim.³⁴ Later, when the land was thrown into market, he formally entered the land, June 2, 1842, as appears from the United States Book of Entries in the office of the Recorder of Deeds of Lee County, Illinois.³⁵ Kearny's visit, of first importance in the life of Hazelwood, has been obscured by neglect, and but for the stalwart memory of Mr. Thomas Page, who took the subject up with the writer some years ago, it might never have been known. Distinctly, Mr. Thomas Page remembered the visit of Kearny to Hazelwood and the expressed enthusiasm of Kearny for everything about Dixon's Ferry.

When, therefore, I decided to put into form the stories of Hazelwood, my first effort was to seek the Kearny story from the record. With his accustomed kindness, Mr. Rosecrans, the Recorder of Deeds, consulted his United States entry book and there found the record of June 2, 1842 as mentioned above.

Very soon after entering this land so close to Hazelwood, Kearny was called by the government to Jefferson Barracks; later to St. Louis, to Fort Leavenworth, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the Mexican War

³³ *Counties of Cumberland, Jasper and Richland, Illinois* (F. A. Battey & Co., Chicago, 1884), 740, 789.

³⁴ Thomas Page remembered distinctly the squatter's presence and the little house in which he lived. E. E. Wingert of Dixon, Ill., a relative of the squatter, says his name was John Richards.

³⁵ Ed S. Rosecrans, circuit clerk and ex-officio recorder of deeds, Dixon, Illinois.

where he lost his left arm in battle. Then he took a trip to China, and in the excitement and changes which wore away the enthusiasm of an earlier day, he sold the land to Lucius G. Fisher and Hazen Cheney, of Beloit, Wisconsin, on March 27, 1857, when he had about concluded to live the remainder of his days abroad. In the records of the entry book and in the government deed or patent, his name was spelled "Kearney." To ascertain, therefore, if Kearny and Kearney were one and the same man, I asked Mr. Rosecrans to look at the record of the conveyance from Kearny to learn the name of his wife—if he, Kearny, had one. Mr. Rosecrans found that Mrs. Kearny's name was Diana M. Since Philip Kearny married Diana Moore Bullitt in 1841,³⁶ these records establish conclusively his presence at Hazelwood at a very early day as one of the famous number that brought to Hazelwood a measure of its renown.³⁷

Other notables caught the impulse to see Hazelwood and in 1843, the sweetest tribute that Hazelwood could covet came soon after William Cullen Bryant had immortalized the beautiful spot and from a person equally famous and far more sympathetic, Margaret Fuller, later Margaret Fuller Ossoli. She seemed full of expectation and enthusiasm for a delightful time when first

³⁶ Sketch of Philip Kearny in *Dictionary of American Biography*, X: 271-72; letter to author from Marion P. Wiltse, New York State Library, Jan. 6, 1937.

³⁷ Samuel H. Davis, founder, editor and owner of the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer*, who was in the habit of making excursions into other sections of Illinois, had the following to say about Dixon and some of its people in his paper of June 22, 1839: "Capt. Graham of New York City, formerly belonging to the well known Thompson Black Ball line of packets from New York to Liverpool, resides 2 m's below Dixon—house cost \$6,000. Mr. Charters, from the same city, resides 2 miles above—house cost \$4,500. Mr. Delano, of South Carolina, will build this summer near Mr. Charters's, a house much excelling it in appearance. Mr. Bradshaw from England will expend \$12,000 in his improvements adjoining the last mentioned; and in the same neighborhood Mr. Carney and Mr. Thomas March, both of New York City, will erect houses this summer, but little if any inferior." The "Mr. Carney" mentioned by Davis undoubtedly refers to Kearny. See *ante*, p. 338 in regard to the date this land was put upon the market.

she wrote to Ralph Waldo Emerson of her expected visit to Hazelwood, where she spent the last three days in June, 1843.

Next week we are going into the country to explore the neighborhood of Fox and Rock rivers. We are going, in regular western style, to travel in a wagon, and stay with the farmers. Then I shall see the West to better advantage than I have as yet.

We are going to stay with one family, the mother of which had what they call a 'claim fight!' Some desperadoes laid claim to her property, which is large; they were supposed to belong to the band who lately have been broken up by an exertion of lynch law. She built shanties in the different parts; she and her three daughters each took one to defend it. They showed such bravery that the foe retreated.

Then there is an Irish gentleman who owns a large property there.³⁸ He was married to the daughter of an Irish earl.³⁹ His son, a boy who inherits the [her] fortune he has left in Europe, and since the death of his wife lives alone on the Rock River; he has invited us to stay at his house, and the scenery there is said to be most beautiful.⁴⁰

Then follows her account of the three-day stay at Hazelwood:

In the afternoon of this day we reached the Rock river, in whose neighborhood we proposed to make some stay, and crossed at Dixon's ferry.

This beautiful stream flows full and wide over a bed of rocks, traversing a distance of near two hundred miles, to reach the Mississippi. Great part of the country along its banks is the finest region of Illinois, and the scene of some of the latest romance of Indian warfare. To these beautiful regions Black Hawk returned with his band "to pass the summer," when he drew upon himself the warfare in which he was finally vanquished. No wonder he could not resist the longing, unwise though its indulgence might be, to return in summer to this home of beauty.

Of Illinois, in general, it has often been remarked that it bears the character of country which has been inhabited by a nation

³⁸ Hazelwood, owned by Alexander Charters.

³⁹ See *ante*, p. 321.

⁴⁰ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston, 1884), 196.

skilled like the English in all the ornamental arts of life, especially in landscape gardening. That the villas and castles seem to have been burnt, the enclosures taken down, but the velvet lawns, the flower gardens, the stately parks, scattered at graceful intervals by the decorous hand of art, the frequent deer, and the peaceful herd of cattle that make picture of the plain, all suggest more of the masterly mind of man, than the prodigal, but careless, motherly love of nature. Especially is this true of the Rock river country. The river flows sometimes through these parks and lawns, then betwixt high bluffs, whose grassy ridges are covered with fine trees, or broken with crumbling stone, that easily assumes the forms of buttress, arch and clustered columns. Along the face of such crumbling rocks, swallows' nests are clustered, thick as cities, and eagles and deer do not disdain their summits. One morning, out in the boat along the base of these rocks, it was amusing, and affecting too, to see these swallows put their heads out to look at us. There was something very hospitable about it, as if man had never shown himself a tyrant near them. What a morning that was! Every sight is worth twice as much by the early morning light. We borrow something of the spirit of the hour to look upon them.

The first place where we stopped was one of singular beauty, a beauty of soft, luxuriant wildness. It was on the bend of the river, a place chosen by an Irish gentleman, whose absenteeism seems of the wisest kind, since for a sum which would have been but a drop of water to the thirsty fever of his native land, he commands a residence which has all that is desirable, in its independence, its beautiful retirement, and means of benefit to others.

His park, his deer-chase, he found already prepared; he had only to make an avenue through it. This brought us by a drive, which in the heat of noon seemed long, though afterwards, in the cool of morning and evening, delightful, to the house. This is, for that part of the world, a large and commodious dwelling. Near it stands the log-cabin where its master lived while it was building, a very ornamental accessory.⁴¹

In front of the house was a lawn, adorned by the most graceful trees. A few of these had been taken out to give a full view of the river, gliding through banks such as I have described. On this bend the bank is high and bold, so from the house or the lawn the view was very rich and commanding. But if you descended a ravine at the side to the water's edge, you found there a long walk on the

⁴¹ This shows that the white manor house had been built before the last of June, 1843.

narrow shore, with a wall above of the richest hanging wood, in which they said the deer lay hid. I never saw one, but often fancied that I heard them rustling, at daybreak, by these bright clear waters, stretching out in such smiling promise where no sound broke the deep and blissful seclusion, unless now and then this rustling, or the splash of some fish a little gayer than the others; it seemed not necessary to have any better heaven, or fuller expression of love and freedom than in the mood of nature here.

Then, leaving the bank, you would walk far and far through long, grassy paths, full of the most brilliant, also the most delicate flowers. The brilliant are more common on the prairie, but both kinds loved this place.

Amid the grass of the lawn, with a profusion of wild strawberries, we greeted also a familiar love, the Scottish harebell, the gentlest, and most touching form of the flower-world.

The master of the house was absent, but with a kindness beyond thanks had offered us a resting place there.⁴² Here we were taken care of by a deputy,⁴³ who would, for his youth, have been assigned the place of a page in former times, but in the young west, it seems, he was old enough for a steward. Whatever be called his function, he did the honors of the place so much in harmony with it, as to leave the guests free to imagine themselves in Elysium. And the three days passed here were days of unalloyed, spotless happiness. . . . One beautiful feature was the return of the pigeons every afternoon to their home. At this time they would come sweeping across the lawn, positively in clouds, and with a swiftness and softness of winged motion more beautiful than anything of the kind I ever knew.⁴⁴ Had I been a musician, such as Mendelssohn, I felt that I could have improvised a music quite peculiar, from the sound they made, which should have indicated all the beauty over which their wings bore them. I will here insert a few lines left at this house on parting, which feebly indicate some of the features.

Familiar to the childish mind were tales
Of rock-girt isles amid a desert sea,
Where unexpected stretch the flowery vales
To soothe the shipwrecked sailor's misery.
Fainting, he lay upon a sandy shore,

⁴² It is well known that according to a custom among the well-bred, he turned his home over to Miss Fuller and absented himself while she was there.

⁴³ George H. Foote.

⁴⁴ The passenger pigeons.

And fancied that all hope of life was o'er;
But let him patient climb the frowning wall,
Within, the orange glows beneath the palm tree tall,
And all that Eden boasted waits his call.

Almost these tales seem realized to-day,
When the long dullness of the sultry way,
Where "independent" settlers' careless cheer
Made us indeed feel we were "strangers" here,
Is cheered by sudden sight of this fair spot,
On which "improvement" yet has made no blot,
But Nature all-astonished stands, to find
Her plan protected by the human mind.

Blest be the kindly genius of the scene;
The river, bending in unbroken grace,
The stately thickets, with their pathways green,
Fair lonely trees, each in its fittest place.
Those thickets haunted by the deer and fawn;
Those cloudlike flights of birds across the lawn;
The gentlest breezes here delight to blow,
And sun and shower and star are emulous to deck the show.

Wondering, as Crusoe, we survey the land;
Happier than Crusoe we, a friendly band;
Blest be the hand that reared this friendly home,
The heart and mind of him to whom we owe
Hours of pure peace such as few mortals know;
May he find such, should he be led to roam,
Be tended by such ministering sprites—
Enjoy such gaily childish days, such hopeful nights!
And yet, amid the goods to mortals given,
To give those goods again is most like heaven.

Hazelwood, Rock River, June 30th, 1843.

Margaret Fuller (Ossoli) never forgot Rock River nor Hazelwood. She made of them subjects of conversation with friends; she used them as subjects of correspondence. They furnished her with a never-ending procession of tender, loving memories. So filled with

love for the grandeur of Hazelwood and beautiful Rock River, she could not and did not leave them without a parting tribute in these sublime words:

Farewell, ye soft and sumptuous solitudes!
 Ye fairy distances, ye lordly woods,
 Haunted by paths like those that Poussin knew,
 When after his all gazers eyes he drew;
 I go,—and if I never more may steep
 An eager heart in your enchantments deep,
 Yet ever to itself that heart may say,
 Be not exacting, thou hast lived one day;
 Hast looked on that which matches with thy mood,
 Impassioned sweetness of full being's flood,
 Where nothing checked the bold yet gentle wave,
 Where naught repelled the lavish love that gave.
 A tender blessing lingers o'er the scene,
 Like some young mother's thought, fond, yet serene,
 And through its life new-born our lives have been.
 Once more farewell,—a sad, a sweet farewell;
 And, if I never must behold you more,
 In other worlds I will not cease to tell
 The rosary I here have numbered o'er;
 And bright-haired Hope will lend a gladdened ear,
 And Love will free him from the grasp of Fear,
 And Gorgon critics, while the tale they hear,
 Shall dew their stony glances with a tear,
 If I but catch one echo from your spell:—
 And so farewell,—a grateful, sad farewell!⁴⁵

The last of the great literary names associated with the Hazelwood of Alexander Charters was Bayard Taylor, who came to Dixon to deliver a lecture in 1862. The announcement excited unusual interest, and he was greeted with an overflow audience. But on arrival his first inquiry was about Hazelwood, and he expressed a desire to be driven thence without delay. Once there, he and his local companions were entertained as only

⁴⁵ S. M. Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (Boston, 1844), 43-49, 68-69.

"Governor" Charters could entertain.

Mrs. M. L. Rayne, a writer of note, has left with us a description of the Bayard Taylor visit, which I am taking from the columns of the *Dixon Telegraph* of the period. Mrs. Rayne frequently visited relatives in Dixon and it was on one of these visits she met "Governor" Charters. While this visit was a never-to-be-forgotten pleasure, she made a later visit to Dixon which was inexpressibly sad. It was at the time of the bridge disaster. Her daughter, Bessie Rayne, was with her. Bessie was anxious to witness the public baptismal ceremony on that Sunday, at the north end of the bridge. While standing on the bridge, it collapsed and she and her young companions were hurled into the river and drowned.⁴⁶

Following is Mrs. Rayne's story:

AN AMERICAN COUNTRY HOME

Near the old town of Dixon, Ill., situated on a picturesque declivity on the banks of Rock River, stands one of those mansions immortalized in song by poets, and so rich in historical associations that every foot of ground has a legendary value. Like all historic treasures, it belongs to the past, and the visitor under its hospitable roof is entertained today with a recital of events that transpired there a lifetime or more ago, when its owner, "a fine old Irish gentleman," drew about him the talent and flower of chivalry, and taught them the beauty of nature and the charm of congenial associations.

In that mansion used to be
Free-hearted hospitality.
His grate fires up the chimney roared,
The stranger feasted at his board.

The name of the man who owned an estate so near perfection and who, despite virulent attacks of the gout, enjoyed every moment of his long life, was Alexander Charters. In his youth he had

⁴⁶ See *post*, pp. 392-94 for another account of this disaster.

been a successful merchant, but after he became possessor of Hazelwood, as he called his Rock River home, he gave himself up to the pleasurable life of the dilettante.

I remember on the last occasion I saw him when I intended to offer my sympathy for a serious lameness which compelled him to go on crutches. "He will not see you," friends had said. "He is too proud to enter the parlor on crutches."

Nor did he. Walking as erect as he ever did in his life, he came in without a hint of lameness, although he must have suffered excruciating pain, and taking my proffered hand, assured me that he would not have missed seeing me. The chivalry of his nature made him a soldier on the battlefield of pain.

Margaret Fuller was a guest at Hazelwood in 1843, and in one of her letters to the *New York Tribune* dilated at length upon the beauties of nature by which she was surrounded. Her friends wrote of her, to each other at that period as being in the "far wild west," and indeed it was nearly true, for Chicago was only a village compared to its present size, and railroads were few and far between. But Margaret Fuller wrote to her friend, "Waldo" Emerson, glowing accounts of her life on the Rock River plantation, where, under the noble forest trees, she wrote her transcendental words and thought her transcendental thoughts.

In 1862 Bayard Taylor was making a tour of the country, speaking at different points on the national cause, and interspersing those talks with notes of travel. He was entertained at Hazelwood, where he arrived in time for a six o'clock dinner. Neither he nor Governor Charters had any idea of the value of time, and they sat over the wine and walnuts until shells were a foot deep beneath the table. Other genial spirits were present, and the conversation was a thing to remember, for where genius is, the tongue scintillates.

Meanwhile, in the little [Douglas] hall in the town where Mr. Taylor was to lecture, a large crowd of the best people were wedged, waiting with what patience they could for the distinguished man to appear. Eight o'clock came, but no lecturer—nine, and still they waited. It had been raining and the streets were dark and deep with mud. At last word was given that the party was coming. Several indistinct figures could be discerned galloping along the Main street, the tails of the horses tied up to keep them out of the mud and the riders grasping the pommels of the saddles to hold themselves on.

As they passed the balcony of a house, a woman peered into the darkness and called softly, "Is that you,——?"

"No," said a quavering voice in reply, "it isn't ———, it's B-a-y-a-r-d!"

———, by the way, was the name of a brilliant and distinguished gentleman of Dixon, who introduced the speaker of the evening in a few happily turned sentences, apologizing for being detained by a vague reference to delay of trains, which white lie delightfully told, was accepted as truth. The audience remained in their seats until near midnight, listening to Mr. Taylor's eloquent and convincing phrases with the keenest relish. Then those jolly good fellows—heaven rest their souls—went back to Hazelwood to scatter pearls and diamonds of thought until daybreak.

M. L. RAYNE.

During the long political life and leadership of United States Senator Stephen A. Douglas, it was quite natural that he should learn of the master of Hazelwood. Naturally too the title, "Governor," impressed the Senator as representing a measure of political power which always was carefully considered by Senator Douglas.

To Hazelwood therefore the Senator was taken by his close friend, Colonel John Dement of Dixon, for an introduction. Hazelwood charmed him and Charters captivated him. The Senator could not record his admiration for Hazelwood and its master as William Cullen Bryant and Margaret Fuller had done in poetry, but he could and did sound the praises of both in a manner more impressive, if anything.

On his first visit there, he deferred an inquiry into the title, "Governor," for an interview with Colonel Dement privately, only to learn that it did not carry the reward for being a good vote getter. What then? If important, it should become attached to the Douglas political fortunes.

It was in a spirit of mutual levity that Colonel Dement explained that the title had no political signif-

icance whatever; that the title attached itself to the owner of Hazelwood as master, as was the custom back in the old country. Douglas accepted the explanation with relish and ever after he lavished his heartiest praise and love on Hazelwood and "Governor" Charters. It was the one refuge for him from political strife, open and anxious to receive him and remove every last care that may have been imposed upon the Senator in those distressing times. Here were found stalwart friendship, kindness, sympathy, gentleness; a sedative for the frightful irritations that came to Senator Douglas especially in the last part of the 1850's.

V

In 1837 the family of Samuel M. Charters, the brother of Alexander, was composed of himself, his wife, Jane Cregier Charters and their only child, Fannie J. Charters, who was born in 1830. While Samuel may not have intended to make Hazelwood his home permanently, he nevertheless spent considerable time there between 1837 and 1848, making frequent visits in New York to see his family. This fact is established by statements made by members of the family and more particularly by an entry made by Hubbard in his diary on September 25, 1844: "Going up to see Sam Charters who has just returned."

His wife must have passed away in 1848, because in that year Sam and his daughter, Fannie, removed to Hazelwood to live permanently. A record of the event is found in these words:

The Governor was assisted in his hospitable duties by his brother, Samuel M. Charters, and his niece, Fanny Charters, daughter of Samuel. She was eighteen years of age when she came with

her father to reside at Hazelwood, and being a most beautiful girl and of fine education, she added immensely to the attraction of Hazelwood. Her admirers consisted of all the marriageable young men from many counties around Dixon and she shed a lustre upon the society of that early day which is even felt to the present time.⁴⁷

But it was left for James Boomer Charters, her cousin, to distance all competitors. On November 17, 1853, they were married by the Reverend John Edward Britt, at Hazelwood.⁴⁸ But after this happy event, the father, Samuel M. Charters, was not permitted to tarry at Hazelwood for long. On Monday, August 28, 1854, he passed away at Hazelwood at the age of fifty-two years.⁴⁹ He was buried on Mount Kennedy, on the Hazelwood estate.

While it is true that Alexander Charters was ably assisted in the entertainment of friends after the arrival of Samuel and his daughter, it must not be assumed that entertainment had lagged at any time subsequent to his own arrival. We have but to refer to the newsy Hubbard diary for confirmation of social items from almost the beginning of things. And of Mr. Hubbard's active and frequent participation, ample evidence is disclosed:

March 4, 1843. Went to Charters' this evening with W. Randolph and the boys.

To include the boys might have been a tactful expression for the line of entertainment that followed whenever a party of "the boys" gathered around the Charters board.

⁴⁷ *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County*, 307.

⁴⁸ Newspaper references to the wedding do not give the correct name of the minister. I am under obligation to Sterling D. Schrock, county clerk, for securing the original marriage license, dated November 16, 1853. It is signed by John Edward Britt, minister.

⁴⁹ *Dixon Telegraph*, Sept. 7, 1854. "At Hazelwood, aged 52 years." Discovered and transcribed by Mrs. Margaret Scriven. Samuel M., not Samuel J. as sometimes written, seems to be correct.

March 5, 1843. Cold. Returned from Charters.

While Charters seldom left Hazelwood to accept hospitalities from his neighbors, it seems that with Hubbard at least he not only accepted them but when it came to a house-raising by Hubbard, the "Governor" actually assisted in that useful and important function:

April 13, 1843. Pleasant. Raised house, assisted by William and James Kennedy, Charters, Bill G. Sparks, John & Richard Becker, Tom Randolph, Dick Bayley and Martin Richardson. Commenced at 10 o'clock and finished at sunset. Quick work one might say!

In another entry made on December 25, 1844, was recorded another visit of Charters, this time to the home of his friend, John T. Lawrence. This is the Hubbard version:

Christmas mild, smoky lowering clouds, strong S. E. wind. Dined with Mr. Lawrence. Charters, DuVoisin there—high festival. Remained all night.

I know of no entry, in all the long list of diary entries, more expressive of the old-time entertainment than the above. And just who DuVoisin was has not yet been learned. He was probably just one of the many who dropped in from any place between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi River.

June 14, 1843. Warm, pleasant. Threshing oats in the forenoon, went to see Charters in the afternoon.

July 23, 1843. Went to Dixon and Grand Detour with Randolph. Stopped at Charters' all night. Could not see Dana about lumber.

July 24, 1843. Returned from Charters to Capt. Graham's. Charters gave me an order on Dana for lumber—1,000 feet. I am fearful that I shall not procure the kind I want, as his mill is stopped for want of water.

July 27, 1843. Started for Grand Detour with Codlin and Short, but learning from Alexander Charters, his quarrel with Cumins, House & Co., returned home.

Aug. 16, 1843. Went to Grand Detour with Randolph and John Lawrence to see Dana about lumber. Staid at Charters' all night.

Oct. 11, 1843. Went to party at Charters' in the evening.

Nov. 4, 1844. Voted for Henry Clay. Went to Charters'. [A considerable story might be bracketed here about this election day visit, no doubt!]

Nov. 5, 1844. Returned from Charters'.

Jan. 9, 1845. Randolph rode down with us. He has been spending some days at Charters'.

Aug. 23, 1846. Went to Dixon and to Charters' in the evening. Bill Kennedy and Hutchinson⁵⁰ rode with me.

Aug. 24, 1846. Sunday. Dined at Captain's. Returned from Charters'.

Dec. 7, 1846. Returned from Charters'.

And Mr. Hubbard was but one of the entire countryside that was constantly visiting at Hazelwood!

Every form of good cheer was found at Hazelwood. The "Governor" became so fond of his Hazelwood home that he rarely left it except to make necessary trips to Dixon for supplies, in the phaeton drawn by the favorite white horse and driven by Cupid, or to attend a social session held with his cronies at the Dixon House. Never so far as is known, with one exception, did Alexander Charters leave the confines of Lee County, and then the absence was accidental.

John Q. Adams, of Dixon, one of Charters' close friends, when on one of his frequent visits to Hazelwood, invited the "Governor" to "hop in" and take a ride with him, up the Pine Creek road, around the neighborhood. Charters "hopped in" and together the two drove slowly up the Pine Creek road. Almost before they knew it the Thomas Page farm had been reached. Nature was more than ever glorious on that day and it did its best to entice the travelers onward.

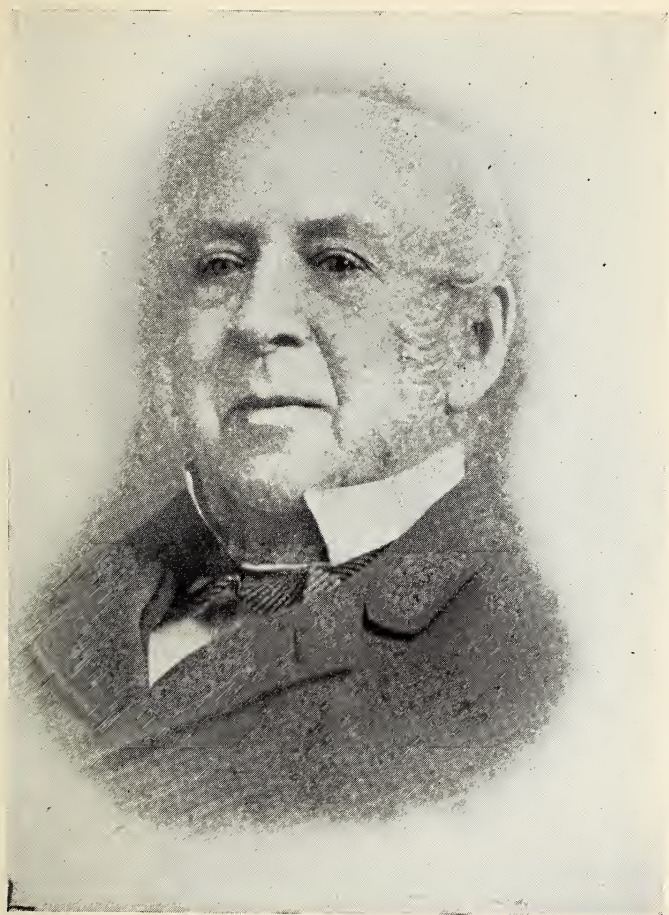
⁵⁰ John P. Hutchinson.

Charters enjoyed the woodland glories; the wondrous countryside stole away all consciousness of distance. The Pines glided by and almost within the moment Mt. Morris had been reached; peaceful, quaint, quiet, restful Mt. Morris with its restful, wonderful Mt. Morris Seminary.

"Wait a minute, John," the "Governor" requested when it had dawned upon him they must be quite a distance from home. And John waited the minute, while Charters looked and looked, perhaps way back into the hurly-burly streets of New York and its insane panic of 1837. He sensed the fact that he had gone outside the county of Lee for the first time since coming into it and he said: "Now, John, let's go home." And back to Hazelwood they traveled more rapidly than they had come. And never afterward did Alexander Charters permit himself to be drawn outside of Lee County, thus insidiously or otherwise. Few spots could take him away from Hazelwood.⁵¹ The near by homes of some of his neighbors, like those mentioned by Hubbard in his diary, might be placed in one class. Another was the old Dixon House, built by Henry McKenney in the early day, on the spot where now stands the handsome store of Vaile and O'Malley. In that famous hostelry, the wits and the good fellows of Dixon gathered to enjoy the camaraderie of that famous fellowship and chat and joke and visit over the local topics and gossip of the hour, and, at times, to banquet, while the landlord, Colonel Lockwood Smith, the best entertainer of all time in Dixon, dispensed his hospitality with lavish hand.

In that famous coterie were "Governor" Charters,

⁵¹ John Q. Adams gave me this story.



ALEXANDER CHARTERS: HIS LAST PHOTOGRAPH



Benjamin F. Shaw, Judge John V. Eustace, James L. Camp, Elias B. Stiles, Charles Ruxton, Captain James W. Reardon, Carleton Bayley, James Boyd, the Chase boys, Silas Noble, Amos Curry, A. C. Stedman, Col. John Dement, Isaac Means, H. H. Dickson, John Q. Adams, Isaac Boardman, Cyrus Aldrich, John B. Nash and many others.⁵²

Entertainment at that famous hotel was a part of Dixon social life, with dancing and other features. Not all of the business successes of the revived New York City could have enticed Charters from his beloved Hazelwood and his dearly loved companions.

With the biographer, the smaller things of life must be added together and brought into view to make a truthful and readable story. Especially is this true of Hazelwood and its masters. There, things great and small were of constant occurrence, jointly, severally, alternately and together, and the omission of any one of them, is unthinkable. Of the smaller, spats with the assessor must be recorded. The dreadful assessor! And one important member of the Charters family came to grips with him with results not so small. In the issue of the *Dixon Telegraph* for March 24, 1855, one finds that as a result of an argument with the Dixon assessor, the assessment of James B. Charters was reduced \$14,000. An item of consequence! And from the long list that follows the Charters entry, the quarrel must have been a serious one, for assessments totaling about \$100,000 were stripped from the assessment roll of Dixon Township.

But, returning to big things, on July 17, 1856, one of the biggest incidents in the life of Hazelwood happened

⁵² Edgar A. Patrick gave me this data.

and drew its most distinguished guests there. On that day a great political meeting was held in the courthouse square in Dixon to ratify the nomination of John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate for President of the United States. The speakers were Abraham Lincoln, Joseph Knox, Judge Kneeland, Francis A. Hoffman, Dr. Egan, John Wentworth, Judge Denio, Thomas J. Turner, J. J. Beardsley, J. C. Vaughan and John F. Farnsworth.⁵³ These men made the trip to Hazelwood to meet "Governor" Charters who, it may be certain, treated them royally. And it may well be wondered if while standing on that famous estate, Abraham Lincoln harked back twenty-four years and recalled his ride over it as a member of Captain Elijah Iles' company which marched over the spot to Galena, after the shadowy Black Hawk!⁵⁴ The visit was an eventful one. Hazelwood, however, was in the habit of receiving persons of the first rank, and at the time Lincoln's visit probably was regarded as secondary in importance to the visits of Senator Douglas, because the Senator at the time was doing things while Lincoln at best was trying to do them.

The "Governor" never entered political life. He did not and could not adjust himself to the political game although in the *Dixon Telegraph's* issue of September 13, 1856, we find him figuring to some extent in a minor political divertissement, when he, with others, signed a petition urging John V. Eustace to become a candidate for representative in the general assembly. The petition is dated August 15, 1856, and it also contains the names

⁵³ *Amboy Times*, July 24, 1856.

⁵⁴ Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who had returned from his furlough, was detailed to make this trip over the same route at about this time. Just a little later General Winfield Scott, on his way to Fort Crawford, also journeyed over this territory.

of John Charters and George H. Foote, also of Hazelwood.

Considering the possibility of a fling at politics, fancy "Governor" Charters running for highway commissioner! Yet a reference made to the vote recorded for six candidates discloses that a coterie of friends ran him for that office because he received one hundred votes. And of all improbable things, William W. Heaton, for years later a judge of the circuit court, and the first presiding justice of the appellate court for the first district (Chicago), received 105 votes for the same office.⁵⁵ The voters of Dixon Township must have been enjoying a joking spree!

In the midst of so much hilarity and with all of the efforts put forth by Hazelwood to make life worth living, one might think that even panics would never dare venture their ugly heads in such scenes, but panics are among the human annoyances that enjoy making trouble. Presently we pick up the trail of another devastating panic, the one of 1857, in which dreadful financial mix-up the names of many of Dixon's foremost business men are found to be involved.⁵⁶ In one respect, however, there is a reversal of fortune for the Charters family. In seven trustee foreclosure sales advertised in the *Telegraph*, either Alexander Charters or James B. Charters was bringing proceedings to recover moneys loaned to divers parties who had been swept off their feet but recently. The amounts involved make an aggregate of practically \$19,000. What especially interested me in these transactions was the appearance of the name of my father, John Stevens, as the attorney representing

⁵⁵ *Dixon Telegraph*, April 11, 1857.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1857. °

Alexander and James B. Charters in the foreclosure proceedings.

And so the years came and went their way, forty of them, until on a day in September, 1878, the "Governor" caught a cold. On Wednesday, the eighteenth, all that was mortal of Alexander Charters passed into eternal rest.⁵⁷ On Sunday, September 22, a multitude gathered on the lawn at Hazelwood, where the Reverend W. W. Steele read the Episcopal burial service and John V. Eustace spoke tenderly of his old friend. After this simple ceremony, the body of Alexander Charters was laid in a grave on a nearby bluff, overlooking the beautiful valley of the Rock River.

The master of beautiful Hazelwood was gone! How I had climbed the giant oaks every one! How as a bare-foot boy I had tramped over almost every inch of Hazelwood! How I yearned, one day, to be master of Hazelwood! And when the day came for Alexander Charters to be carried to the grave, as a member of St. Luke's Episcopal choir I sang the hymns selected, and in the cortege I followed the casket to Mount Kennedy where beside his brother, Samuel, and his friend, Mr. Kennedy, Alexander Charters was buried.

With the death of its owner the glory of Hazelwood was not permitted to languish. George H. Page, a Dixon-Palmyra boy who had gone abroad and accumulated a vast fortune, bought the place with the intention of spending the rest of his life on that beautiful spot. He lavished a fortune on improvements, but in a time all too brief he was taken ill and died. Charles H. Hughes, another Dixon-Palmyra boy, banker and state senator, then bought the estate. He added to the log cabin. He

⁵⁷ *Dixon Telegraph*, Sept. 19, 1878.

entertained lavishly and brought Hazelwood back to its golden days. But presently he, too, passed away and Charles R. Walgreen, well-known drug merchant, bought it. Under his ownership and the gentle guidance of Mrs. Walgreen, Hazelwood stands today unrivaled.

THE SOUTHERN INFLUENCE IN THE FORMATION OF ILLINOIS

BY JOHN D. BARNHART

THE formation of the first constitution of Illinois was a phase of the conflict of sectional cultures for dominance in the Old Northwest. In the evolution of society on this western frontier, settlers from different parts of the nation and from foreign countries co-operated at times, and at times struggled against one another rather bitterly. The conflicts were due to the different customs, institutions, and points of view which the pioneers brought with them from their old homes and which they endeavored to establish in their new homes. Four different American cultures were carried into the Old Northwest from the older sections in which they had developed: the Lowland South, the Upland South, the Middle States, and New England. Out of these migrations and conflicting interests grew a new section and a new sectional culture. Some of the forces which were involved in this process are revealed by a study of the Illinois convention which adopted the constitution of 1818.

The early settlements north of the Ohio, which were the scene of this cultural conflict, were in many respects an extension of the South.¹ Beginning with early busi-

¹ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 164; Robert E. Chaddock, "Ohio Before 1850" *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Vol. XXXI, no. 2 (New York, 1908), 189-341; Archer B. Hulbert, *Soil, Its Influence on the History of the United States* (New Haven, 1930), *passim*.

ness connections, the relations with the South included the expedition of George Rogers Clark, and the settlement of many of his soldiers in Illinois and Indiana. The "County of Illinois," which was organized by the state of Virginia, was allowed to lapse after a few years, but it existed long enough for the laws and the bill of rights of Virginia to be introduced.² When Virginia surrendered to the national government her claims to the West, she retained Kentucky and the Scioto Valley where grants of lands were awarded to her Revolutionary soldiers. As a result, large numbers of Virginians settled in Kentucky and many Kentuckians subsequently moved to the region of the Ohio.³ Routes of migration to the Old Northwest in the early period, which generally began in or near the southern states, were the Ohio River, the roads through the mountains of Virginia, the Wilderness Trail, and the Tennessee River. Over these routes came many of the early settlers of the Old Northwest, Virginians being especially numerous in the Scioto Valley, Carolinians and Kentuckians in Indiana, and Virginians and Kentuckians in Illinois.

Jeffersonian democracy was carried by these pioneers into the new settlements where it first clashed with the federalism of Governor Arthur St. Clair. After the overthrow of St. Clair by the Jeffersonians, a new constitution was formed for the state of Ohio by a convention that was largely controlled by the natives and former residents of the southern states. The constitution resembled in many respects the constitution of Tennessee

² Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield, 1920), 320-60; Clarence W. Alvord, "Virginia and the West: An Interpretation," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 1 (June, 1916), 30-33.

³ Factors which stimulated the migration from the South into the Old Northwest have been described in John D. Barnhart, "Sources of Southern Migration into the Old Northwest," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXII, no. 1 (June, 1935), 49-62.

which Jefferson was said to have recommended as the least imperfect and most republican. It established a government in which the legislative representatives of the people were more powerful than any other branch of government, but it omitted the property qualifications that were found in the Tennessee document.⁴

The new Territory of Indiana, which included the Illinois Country, was placed under the governorship of William Henry Harrison, a native of Virginia. Under his administration there developed an official class that came to be called the "Virginia Aristocrats." The laws adopted during the early period were largely taken from those of southern states. A majority of the judges were from the South and when a legislature was formed the controlling element was southern. This aristocratic southern element endeavored to establish the social order to which it was accustomed. Attempts were made to secure modifications of the Northwest Ordinance in order to permit the establishment of slavery, which was thought to be necessary to attract slave owners from the South who were moving to Kentucky or Missouri. Since Congress did not permit this, territorial laws were enacted legalizing indentured servitude, under which a modified system of slavery existed. Aristocratic manners were copied from the South or from European countries. It may have seemed to Harrison and his friends that they had made substantial progress in forming a social order as nearly like that of the Plantation South as the frontier conditions and the Ordinance of 1787 permitted.

However they were not to succeed. From the mountain area of the South came a stream of small farmers,

⁴ This subject has been treated in John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Ohio," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. III, no. 1 (Feb., 1937), 28-42.

many of whom had moved out of the South to escape the social and economic consequences of the expansion of the plantation and slavery. They, in common with other settlers from the Middle States and Europe who were opposed to the ideals of the Harrison administration, were called to defend their own conception of what the social order should be. The indenture law was repealed, the capital was removed from Vincennes, and after the retirement of Harrison a statehood movement was successful. This anti-Harrison group, which was the popular party, held democratic views which were characteristic of the Mountain South, and the constitution which it formed was quite similar to those of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. It contained a prohibition of slavery and democratic features which mark it as a product of the Upland South and the frontier.⁵

Before the triumph of the popular party in Indiana Territory and the repeal of the indenture law, the Illinois Country was separated and formed into Illinois Territory. The Virginia dynasty in the presidency named a Virginian to be governor of the new territory. The laws of Indiana Territory, including the indenture system, were re-enacted by the Territorial Council of Illinois.⁶

In this new society that was being formed in the river valleys of the Illinois Country, many instances of southern influence were evident. The officials were often natives of the South and were accustomed to southern ways and institutions. The Governor was a native of Maryland, the men who served as secretaries were na-

⁵ John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XXXIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1937), 261-76.

⁶ Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 214-15; Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 428-30, 461; Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois, from 1778 to 1833* (Springfield, 1870), 27-31.

tives of Kentucky and Tennessee, the men who were chosen as delegates to Congress were born in Maryland and Kentucky, and the judges of the territory were with one exception from the South.⁷

A number of these and other prominent men held slaves or negro servants.⁸ Among these may be noted Pierre Menard, Thomas Ferguson, and Samuel Judy, who were members of the Council; Alexander Wilson and Jacob Short, who were members of the House of Representatives; Benjamin Stephenson and Shadrach Bond, who represented the Territory in Congress; and Governor Edwards, Secretary Pope, and Judge Thomas. A considerable number of slaves were used in the Salines near Shawneetown in Gallatin County. Although the French inhabitants held slaves before the Americans began to come to the Illinois, it is obvious from the census records that many of the latter either brought negroes with them or acquired them after moving there. The federal census of 1810 listed 129 slaves and 500 indentured servants. The census of 1820 gave the number of slaves as 917 and the free negroes as 457. It thus appears

⁷ *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, compiled and edited by Clarence E. Carter (Washington, 1934), I: 11-12, gives the names of the officials. Governor Ninian Edwards was born in Maryland; Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 14. The secretaries were Nathaniel Pope and Joseph Philips. Pope was born in Kentucky; Paul M. Angle, "Nathaniel Pope, 1784-1850," *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions for the Year 1936* (Springfield, n. d.), 114. Philips was born in Tennessee, according to John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 158. The judges were Obadiah Jones, Alexander Stuart, Jesse B. Thomas, Stanley Griswold, William Sprigg, and Thomas Towles. Jones was appointed from Georgia; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, I: 12. Stuart was a native of Virginia; Arthur C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois* (*Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, V, Chicago, 1908), 111. Thomas was a native of Virginia; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII: 436-37, and John F. Snyder, "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois: Hon. Jesse Burgess Thomas," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1904 (Springfield, 1904), 514-23. Griswold was born in Connecticut; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1,038. William Sprigg was born in Maryland, according to Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, 111. He was appointed from Missouri; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, I: 12. Thomas Towles was a Kentuckian.

⁸ *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, edited by Margaret C. Norton (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIV, Springfield, 1935), *passim*, and *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, edited by Margaret C. Norton (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XXVI, Springfield, 1934), *passim*.

that the number of slaves and servants was increasing.

The social life of the people of Illinois gave evidence of southern influence.⁹ Dances and horse races were general diversions. Shadrach Bond was said to have held fox hunts. Evidence also exists of hotheadedness which led to duels and acts of violence, and of an unwillingness to punish as criminals persons who had in heat or blood committed capital crimes—as was said to be the case in Kentucky and Tennessee. The popular churches, which the pioneers had brought with them, were also strong in the South.¹⁰

There may be distinguished among the emigrants from the South three main types, although the differences among them were sometimes imperceptible. The earlier pioneers were affected by frontier conditions, to which they adjusted their lives so thoroughly as to lose much of the influence of the older sections or of European cultures. As the pathfinders to the new land they marked the trails, proved the quality of the land, and made ready for the civilization that was to arise. Farmer emigrants from the Upland South brought with them the ideal of a white man's society, and unfriendliness to the negro and to the aristocrat. Their religious organ-

⁹ Daniel M. Parkinson, "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin," *Second Annual Report and Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society* (Madison, 1856), 326-36; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 40-44; Eliza W. Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land* (New York, 1847), *passim*; Julian M. Sturtevant, *An Autobiography*, edited by J. M. Sturtevant, Jr. (New York, 1896), 181, 215; Earl W. Hayter, "Sources of Early Illinois Culture," *Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1936, pp. 81-96. Hayter recognized the importance of the southern influences, but rejected those of the frontier. A comparison of the Illinois constitution with that of Virginia and the various Ohio Valley state constitutions will indicate the error of his statement about the bill of rights.

¹⁰ The strength of the Methodist church in the various states may be ascertained from the *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Years 1773-1828* (New York, 1840). See also "*Father Clark*," or *the Pioneer Preacher, Sketches and Incidents of Rev. John Clark, by an Old Pioneer*, edited by John M. Peck (New York, 1855), *passim*; William W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, I: The Baptists, 1783-1830* (New York, 1931), *passim*; *ibid.*, II: *The Presbyterians; 1783-1840* (New York, 1936), *passim*.

izations were too numerous and too democratic to permit vigorous clerical control. Members of the planter families brought with them their ideals and customs, devotion to good living, hospitality, a broad attitude towards life, culture, and pride of family. The latter added gentility, dignity, and character, but the farmers from the Upland South were the dominant element.

Into this growing but quiet and peaceful society, there was thrown the suggestion of statehood. It was not the work of an opposition party as in Ohio in 1802 and Indiana in 1816, for the proposal came from Daniel Pope Cook, a young and talented Kentuckian, who was a member of the Edwards party.¹¹ It was favored by Governor Edwards in his message at the opening of the territorial legislature on December 2, 1817.¹² The legislature acted quickly, requesting Congress to authorize statehood.¹³ Nathaniel Pope, delegate to Congress, member of the Edwards party, an uncle of Daniel Pope Cook, and a Kentuckian, pushed the measure through Congress in a fairly rapid manner.¹⁴ A census which must show a population of at least 35,000 was made a requirement for further procedure.¹⁵

The leading issue in the campaign for delegates to the convention was introduced before the legislature passed the memorial asking for statehood. This issue was concerned with the institution of slavery. It was raised by the introduction and passage of a bill repealing the in-

¹¹ *Western Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 27, 1817; April 15, Sept. 2, 1818. With the issue of May 27, 1818, it became the *Illinois Intelligencer*. William H. Brown, "Memoir of the Late Hon. Daniel P. Cook," in Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 253-68; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 207-14.

¹² *Western Intelligencer*, Dec. 4, 1817.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1817.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1817; March 4, 11, April 29, 1818.

¹⁵ *The Federal and State Constitutions*, compiled and edited by Francis N. Thorpe (*House Documents*, Vol. 88, 59 Cong., 2 sess., 1906-1907, Doc. no. 357, Washington, 1909), II: 967-70.

denture law, which the Governor vetoed because the preamble to the bill declared that the indenture law had been a violation of the Northwest Ordinance. The measure was warmly debated and the Governor discussed it in two messages to the legislature. From this time until the close of the convention in August of the next year the question of slavery in the new constitution was kept before the people. It remained the main topic of discussion because minor issues failed to attract attention and because there was no open campaign made by the existing parties to secure control of the convention.¹⁶

The Northwest Ordinance seems to have discouraged any direct or open attempt to make Illinois a slave state at this time. Suggestions were made to introduce limited or modified forms of slavery and to continue the indenture system. The latter was advocated by the editor of the *Western Intelligencer* when the effort to repeal the indenture law was before the legislature. "Pacifcus" favored a limited form of slavery that should come to an end by 1860.¹⁷

The opponents of slavery met all these suggestions as entering wedges to secure unqualified slavery. The antislavery group was opposed by those who favored indenture, or some temporary form of slavery, as well as those who wished to introduce unlimited slavery. The silence of the latter group was probably tactical, for they considered that statehood would give the new commonwealth freedom to act independent of congressional supervision. That the extreme antislavery group

¹⁶ *Western Intelligencer*, Dec. 18, 1817; almost every issue of 1818 through August, especially Jan. 1, 13, April 1, June 17, 29, and Aug. 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, Aug. 12, 1818. See also the communications from "Erin," *ibid.*, June 24, and from "A Friend to Inquiry," *ibid.*, July 22, 1818.

recognized its defeat in the election was probably indicated by an appeal to the people to protest to Congress if the new constitution should contain a provision for either temporary or unlimited slavery.¹⁸

The election resulted in the choice of delegates to a convention, the large majority of which was composed of men who were natives or former residents of the South before their migration to Illinois.¹⁹ The records of twenty-five of the thirty-three delegates are available in a more or less complete form. They indicate that a majority were from the South and that the contest over slavery was largely between different groups of southern immigrants.

Only one native of New England, John Messinger, is known to have been a member of the convention, and he had moved to Kentucky before coming to Illinois.²⁰ He seems to have acquired something of a southern point of view for he voted in the convention with those who favored a continuation of the indenture system.²¹ Five delegates were natives of the middle states, one coming from New York City, one from New Jersey,²²

¹⁸ *Western Intelligencer*, Aug. 5, 1818, as quoted in Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 260-61.

¹⁹ The "Journal of the Convention" was published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (Oct., 1913), 355-424. The list of the members is found on page 358, and Richard V. Carpenter gives brief sketches of many members of the convention on pages 327-53. Much additional material has been found about some of the members, while his sketches about James Hall and Michael Jones are erroneous.

²⁰ Messinger, a native of Massachusetts, was a son-in-law of Matthew Lyon of Vermont, with whom he moved to Kentucky. Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Biographical and Memorial Edition of the Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1915), I: 371-72; Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 328-32; *The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834* (Ill. State Hist. Col., IV, Springfield, 1909), 47n.

²¹ *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, VI: 400-401, 407, 411.

²² This was Joseph Kitchell. His nativity is not known, but his brother, Wickliff, and his wife were from New Jersey, *The Edwards Papers*, edited by E. B. Washburne (*Chi. Hist. Soc. Col.*, III: Chicago, 1884), 149-51, 153-54, 203-204; J. W. Kitchell to James A. Rose, March 16, 1905, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, VI: 353-54; J. C. Allen, "Palestine, Its Early History," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1905, pp. 123, 126-27; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 319; Mason H. Newell, "The Attorneys-General of Illinois," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1903, pp. 217-18.

and three from Pennsylvania. Elias Kent Kane, the New Yorker, was a graduate of Yale, and, for a short time, a resident of Tennessee. After moving to territorial Illinois, he almost immediately became one of the leading politicians. He supported the proslavery cause.²³ Two Pennsylvanians seem to have come directly to Illinois. One of them was to vote for a new convention in 1823 in harmony with the proslavery group,²⁴ while the other held servants or slaves in 1818 but voted with the antislavery men in the convention of that year.²⁵ Benjamin Stephenson, one of the leaders of the Edwards party and a holder of eight negro servants, was a Pennsylvanian by birth, according to his obituary notice. He must have lived in Kentucky before coming to Illinois, for later accounts list him as a native of that state.²⁶ It may be suggested that the adoption of the point of view of the official class of territorial days by four out of six northerners in the convention may indicate that the southern influence had been very significant.

From the older states of the South there were prob-

²³ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 24-25; Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 410; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 312-13; Henry B. Chamberlin, "Elias Kent Kane," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, pp. 162-70; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 200 ff.

²⁴ This was Conrad Will, a leader of the German element who has been called the father of Jackson County. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Ill. 3 general assembly, 1st sess., 1822 (Vandalia, 1823), 268-69; John F. Snyder, "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois: Hon. Conrad Will," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1905, pp. 349-77; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 589.

²⁵ This was Dr. Caldwell Cairns. Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, p. 143; Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 360; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1889), I: 239; *Combined History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, Illinois* (pub. by J. L. McDonough and Company, Philadelphia, 1883), 412-13.

²⁶ *Edwardsville Spectator*, Oct. 12, 1822. He held offices as sheriff of Randolph County, delegate to Congress, register of the land office at Edwardsville, and adjutant-general of the militia. Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 411; Washburne (ed.), *Edwards Papers*, 120n.; *History of Madison County, Illinois* (pub. by W. R. Brink and Co., Edwardsville, 1882), 118; *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 1,565; Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, p. 130; Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, p. 149.

ably five Virginians,²⁷ two Marylanders,²⁸ and one Carolinian.²⁹ One of these, Jesse B. Thomas, had been reared in Kentucky and had gained recognition in Indiana before moving to Illinois. He held two negroes in 1810, three in 1818, and five in 1820.³⁰ Michael Jones of Shawneetown was a brother-in-law of Thomas. Whether he was born in Maryland or not is uncertain. Twelve negroes were recorded as belonging to him in 1818.³¹ On the other hand, one of the Virginians, who had lived in Kentucky, was said to have been a large slaveholder who had freed his slaves and moved to Illinois because he disliked slavery.³²

The emigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee, who were elected to the convention, were almost equal in number to the known sons of the older southern states.

²⁷ These were Jesse B. Thomas, Isham Harrison, Levi Compton, George Fisher, and Joseph Borough. The evidence in regard to Harrison is not very satisfactory, but it indicates that he was a relative of William Henry Harrison, a Virginian, and a holder of servants or slaves. H. M. Aiken, *Franklin County History* (Centennial ed., n.p., n. d.), 5, 21, 27, 58, 78. All that has been found about the origin of Borough is a statement that he was reared in Virginia; *History of Macoupin County, Illinois* (pub. by Brink, McDonough and Co., Philadelphia, 1879), 27. Fisher was said by Reynolds, (*Pioneer History*, 358) to have emigrated from Hardy County, Virginia. For Thomas and Compton, see *ante*, note 7, and *post*, note 32.

²⁸ These were Hezekiah West and Michael Jones. West moved to South Carolina from Maryland before settling in Illinois. Mrs. P. T. Chapman, *A History of Johnson County, Illinois* (Herrin, 1925), 458-59; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, 1790: South Carolina* (Washington, 1908), 14. For Jones, see *post*, note 31.

²⁹ One account states that Thomas Kirkpatrick was born in North Carolina, while another refers to him as a South Carolinian. *Centennial History of Madison County and its People, 1812-1912*, edited by W. T. Norton (Chicago, 1912), I: 497; Brink (pub.) *Madison County*, 333. *Spectator*, Jan. 8, 1822, stated in an obituary notice that Kirkpatrick had lived in Georgia for a time, and intimated that he was born and educated in aristocratic surroundings.

³⁰ See *ante*, note 7, for reference on Thomas. For his servants, see Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, pp. 2, 168; Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, p. 153.

³¹ Frances H. Relf, "The Two Michael Joneses," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, IX: 146-51. This article cleared up a point that has been frequently confused. See also Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, p. 98.

³² This was Levi Compton, whose family had been in Virginia for two generations; *Combined History of Edwards, Lawrence and Wabash Counties, Illinois* (pub. by J. L. McDonough & Co., Philadelphia, 1883), 298.

From Kentucky there were five³³ and from Tennessee there were two.³⁴ Willis Hargrave, who held fourteen negro servants and who was an outspoken advocate of slavery, was connected with the salt industry, which was worked by slaves. Not one of these Kentuckians and Tennesseans voted consistently in the convention against the indenture system.³⁵

The presence of two native sons in the first constitutional convention is indicative of the early arrival of the American pioneers, and the fact that both were born of parents who had migrated from Virginia is evidence of the importance of the southern element in the settlement of the state. James Lemen, Jr., was a member of a large and prominent family in southern Illinois. His father was born of Irish parents near Harper's Ferry. The delegate to the convention and three of his brothers were pioneer ministers.³⁶ Enoch Moore was the son of

³³ These were Willis Hargrave, William McHenry, Edward N. Cullom, Abraham Prickett, and Thomas Roberts. Willis Hargrave was identified with the salt industry in which slaves were used. He had been appointed to offices in the militia, and had served as judge of the county court and also as a member of the territorial legislature. In 1823 he became very active in the proslavery cause; Elihu B. Washburne, *Sketch of Edward Coles* (Chicago, 1882), 165-66; Greene and Alvord, *Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834*, p. 13, note 2. For McHenry, see Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 364; and *History of White County, Illinois* (pub. by Inter-State Pub. Co., Chicago, 1883), 221-22. For Cullom, see *History of Crawford and Clark Counties, Illinois*, edited by William H. Perrin (Chicago, 1883), 32 *et passim*. For Prickett, see Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.*, I: 433; and Norton (ed.), *History of Madison County*, I: 163, 442. For Roberts, see *An Illustrated Historical Atlas Map of Randolph County, Illinois* (pub. by W. R. Brink & Co., Philadelphia, 1875), 54A; and *Combined History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties*, 69.

³⁴ These were Andrew Bankson and James Hall, Jr. Hall is not to be confused with Judge James Hall, the author, as has been done frequently. Little is known about the member of the convention; *History of Jackson County, Illinois* (pub. by Brink, McDonough & Co., Philadelphia, 1878), 33-36; Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818*, p. 106; and Norton (ed.), *Illinois Census Returns, 1820*, p. 100. For Judge Hall, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII: 134-35. The latter did not come to Illinois until 1820. For Bankson, see Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 35.

³⁵ The votes in the convention that were recorded in regard to indenture are found in "Journal of the Convention," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, VI: 401, 407, 411. There were no recorded votes on slavery.

³⁶ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 411-13; Edwardsville *Spectator*, March 9, 1824; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.* (Biog. and Mem. ed.), I: 332-33.

one of Clark's soldiers who had been born in Maryland, had moved to Virginia, and after the Revolution had organized a party of immigrants and accompanied them to Illinois.³⁷

Two members of the convention who had lived in the South before settling in Illinois seem to have been born in Ireland. They were Samuel Omelvany³⁸ and William McFatrige.³⁹ The latter voted for the constitutional convention desired by the proslavery group in 1823.

Unfortunately, eight of the thirty-three members of the convention seem to have left no record of their nativity or previous residence.⁴⁰ One of the eight died shortly after the convention began its work, so the number of active participants whose record has not been found is seven. Among these were men favorable as well as unfavorable to the indenture system.

Twenty-one of the delegates had lived in the South before migrating to Illinois, and two others had been born in Illinois of southern parents. These delegates who had made some contact with southern points of view constituted two-thirds of the convention. Of the remaining third, eight left inadequate records, while only three seem not to have resided in the South.⁴¹ This little band of northern men, who had remained in

³⁷ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 113-14; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.*, I: 382-83.

³⁸ Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 385-86, 389-90; Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill.*, I: 409; Omelvany seems to have lived in South Carolina, and perhaps Kentucky, before coming to Illinois.

³⁹ *The Biographical Review of Johnson, Massac, Pope and Hardin Counties* (pub. by Biographical Publishing Co., Chicago, 1893), 380; Washburne, *Edward Coles*, 84n.; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Ill., 1822, pp. 268-69; Chapman, *Johnson County, Illinois*, 151.

⁴⁰ These were William Echols, Hamlet Ferguson, Seth Gard, Adolphus Hubbard, John K. Mangham, Samuel G. Morse, Leonard White, and John Whiteaker. Mangham died during the convention.

⁴¹ These were Caldwell Cairns, Joseph Kitchell, and Conrad Will. See *ante*, notes 22, 24, 25.

the North in their migrations, constituted less than ten per cent of the convention's membership. The Illinois convention was, therefore, more southern in the antecedents of its members than either the Indiana convention of 1816 or that of Ohio in 1802.⁴²

Jesse B. Thomas, a native of the South and a holder of negro servants, was chosen president of the convention. In the appointment of committees he seems not to have shown a partisan spirit. The majority of the members of three of the fourteen committees were natives of the North. However, the majority of nine, including the one to draft a constitution, were men who had resided for a time in the South.

The two questions about the convention most difficult to answer have to do with the factional or partisan alignment in the convention and the extent to which the slavery question was involved. There was a division in territorial Illinois between the supporters and opponents of Governor Edwards, and it seems that it was carried over into the convention.⁴³ However, these connections were not adhered to strictly, because the question of slavery cut across the older alignment and because there was a tendency towards independent action which was in harmony with the spirit of the "Era of Good Feeling." Parties were less influential during these years than in most periods of the history of the United States. However, it is possible, by a careful analysis of the recorded roll calls in the convention, to isolate

⁴² See *ante.*, notes 4 and 5.

⁴³ Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 134-35, described parties at the beginning of statehood. William H. Brown attributed party division in early Illinois to slavery; "Early History of Illinois," *Fergus Historical Series*, XIV (Chicago, 1880), 81-102; Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 191, 253-68; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 193-293, especially 233 and 291. He stated that political factions played a very slight part in the election of delegates and in the convention except in the effort to locate the capital.

two groups of almost equal strength whose members voted fairly consistently together, and a small third group of individuals who voted more independently than the others. In the one group were to be found certain leaders of the Edwards faction. Its members had received during the governorship of Edwards an average of four appointments each—Willis Hargrave having received seven, Hamlet Ferguson eight, and Leonard White nine.⁴⁴ The other group contained anti-Edwards leaders and had received on an average two and one-third appointments, the highest received by one individual being six.⁴⁵ The Edwards group favored changing the slavery article so as to protect existing arrangements as to slaves and servants and to exempt the Salines for seven years from the prohibition of slavery and involuntary servitude.⁴⁶ They were joined by four of the anti-Edwards group and one of the Independents, while one of their own number dissented. The groups divided generally over the provision for the location of the capital, the date of elections, the extension of suffrage,

⁴⁴ This group seems to have included Messinger, Morse, Omelvany, Roberts, Stephenson, White, Will, McHenry, Prickett, Ferguson, Hargrave, Hubbard, Fisher, and Kitchell. The votes analyzed were those recorded in the "Journal" of the convention. The appointments were secured from *The Territorial Records of Illinois*, edited by Edmund J. James (*Ill. State Hist. Lib. Pub.* no. III, Springfield, 1901). Miss Margaret C. Norton, superintendent of archives, Illinois State Library, very kindly checked for me the records of the members of the convention as revealed in "The Executive Register," "The Election Returns," "The Governors' Correspondence," and the House and Senate *Journals*. These records indicated that the members of the convention were generally rather important members of their respective communities either before or after 1818.

⁴⁵ This group seems to have included Cairns, Cullom, Echols, Gard, Hall, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, McFarridge, Whiteaker, Lemen, Thomas, and perhaps, Moore. The independents were Bankson, Borough, Harrison, and perhaps, Moore. Mangham died too early to be classified.

⁴⁶ Edwards and his followers are generally listed as antislavery, but at this time they occupied a middle position, as is evidenced by his veto of the repeal of the indenture law, *ante.*, p. 365, and by the actions in the convention by such well-known Edwards men as White, Stephenson, and Messinger. Later, when the proslavery men sought to call a convention to introduce slavery, Edwards, Pope, and Cook aligned themselves with the antislavery group. Some of Edwards' other followers were in the opposing group.

and the reduction of judicial salaries.

It seems doubtful whether the slavery question has been correctly stated.⁴⁷ That it played a part in the campaign for statehood and the election of delegates has been noticed. However, there is no evidence that anyone proposed in the convention to make Illinois a slave state. Although there were delegates who favored slavery, the influence of the Northwest Ordinance and the fear of congressional opposition caused a postponement of the slavery controversy until after statehood had been achieved. For these reasons it seems that slavery was not an issue in the convention. However, the prohibition of slavery and indentured servitude was changed from an unqualified prohibition in the earlier draft of the constitution to a prohibition of a further introduction of slaves and servants. An exception was made of the Salines, and indentured servants were required to fulfill their contracts strictly. Existing relationships between master and slave or servant were protected but no further relationships were to be contracted.

That many of the people favored slavery seems quite likely. Slaves or servants held by the members of the convention were more numerous than the delegates themselves. Many other prominent men were also the owners of such servants. In 1824 the effort to call a new convention for the purpose of introducing some form of slavery was defeated by a narrow margin. The territorial official class was considerably involved with slavery or indentured servitude. One contemporary characterized the proslavery group as including southerners,

⁴⁷ Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, (pp. 233 and 280) is an exception. Perhaps he should have placed less stress on slavery and more on indenture.

a large floating population in the vicinity of the salt works, and the native French, who generally held slaves. He thought they were equal in number, if not superior, to their opponents.⁴⁸

Opposition to this point of view came from other southerners who had sought an exemption from the evils of slavery by a removal to a free territory and who were not content to be disturbed in their new homes by their old enemy.⁴⁹ They were particularly the emigrants from the southern part of the Old West or the Upland South. There were, however, some representatives of the Lowland South who took a prominent part in the antislavery cause.⁵⁰ There were also emigrants from the Middle States and a few New Englanders, but "at this time, the enterprise of the New Englanders, or Yankees, had not, to any extent, been directed to this fair portion of the country."⁵¹ Consequently, although each group received aid from others, the contest was essentially between two groups of southerners.

The wording and the arrangement of the constitution which emerged from these contests indicate the influence of other constitutions, particularly those of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee.⁵² The preamble, ex-

⁴⁸ Brown, *Fergus Hist. Ser.*, XIV: 99-100.

⁴⁹ *Illinois Intelligencer*, "The Western Country," March 25, 1818; also contributions in the same publication by: "A Republican," April 1, 1818; "Agis," June 17, 1818; D. P. Cook, June 29, 1818; "Prudence," July 29, 1818; "Benevolus" and "Aristides," May 24, 1823, June 7, 1823; "Republican," July 9, 1824; "Honestus" and "Spartacus," July 23, 1824. *Edwardsville Spectator*, contributions by: "Benevolence," Sept. 21, 1822, April 12, 1823; "Aristides" and "Another Friend to Liberty," May 17, 1823, May 31, 1823; speech of David Rice, July 12, 1823; address by the Rev. Isaac Newton Piggott, Sept. 20, 1823, Oct. 4, 1823; "Jonathan Freeman" [Morris Birkbeck], Nov. 1, 8, 1823, March 23, 1824; "A Citizen of St. Clair County," May 24, 1824; "S. W.," June 8, 1824; "A Republican," May 29, 1824; "A Mechanic," July 18, 1824.

⁵⁰ Edward Coles, Ninian Edwards, and Nathaniel Pope may be mentioned in this connection.

⁵¹ Brown, *Fergus Hist. Ser.*, XIV: 82.

⁵² These constitutions may be found in Thorpe (ed.), *Federal and State Constitutions (House Docs., Vol. 88, 59 Cong., 2 sess.)* where they are arranged in the seven volumes according to states. See also *ante.*, notes 4 and 5.

cept the statement on state boundaries, was almost identical with the preamble of the constitution of Ohio. The separation of the powers or departments of government, a feature of article one, was copied from the constitution of Kentucky, and the latter, in turn, from Jefferson's draft of a constitution for Virginia.⁵³ The legislative department of the government was provided for in article two and followed, in the main, the wording and arrangement of the Ohio constitution, although some sections were more like corresponding sections of the constitutions of Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania. It should also be added that two-thirds of the provisions taken from the Ohio document had been copied by the Ohio convention from the constitution of Tennessee, so that this article of Illinois constitutional law was more like that of Tennessee than any other except Ohio. The executive division of the government, described in article three, was derived from the constitutional law of three or more neighboring states. The first twelve sections were taken from the Ohio constitution and half of them were about as much like corresponding sections of the constitutions of Kentucky and Tennessee as that of Ohio. The remaining ten sections closely resembled similar parts of the Kentucky constitution of 1799, and were very much like the corresponding sections of Indiana's constitution, because the latter was also patterned after Kentucky. The judiciary article, number four, seems to have been the only original article of the constitution. Half of the six sections composing the fifth article, which provided for the militia, were taken almost exactly from the

⁵³ Arthur N. Holcombe, *State Government in the United States* (New York, 1926), 564-70, contains Jefferson's draft of a constitution for Virginia.

Indiana constitution, while the others were reproductions in brief of three sections of the same document.

A special article of the constitution was devoted to the question of slavery and indentured servitude. While important in itself, its true significance appears when its relation to other constitutions is seen. Ohio's constitution prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than for the punishment of crime. It specifically outlawed future indenture contracts unless made by adults in a state of perfect freedom for a *bona fide* consideration or for a term not exceeding one year. It also forbade the amendment of the constitution for the purpose of introducing slavery or involuntary servitude. Indiana followed Ohio except that the outlawing of the indenture contracts was not so rigidly stated. The Illinois convention to which was reported the prohibition of slavery and the severe restriction of indenture contracts contained in Ohio's constitution, amended the section so as to apply to the future.⁵⁴ "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall *hereafter* be introduced . . .," it read. This was also true of the prohibition of indenture contracts, but existing contracts were to be performed faithfully, the children of such servants becoming free at maturity. No limitation was placed upon the amending procedure, while the Salines near Shawneetown were permitted until 1825 to hire persons bound to labor in another state.

The procedure to be followed in amending the constitution was stated in the seventh article. Save for the opening words and the final sentence in the corresponding part of the constitution of Ohio, the Illinois article was almost identical. Actually these parts of the con-

⁵⁴ *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, VI: 380, 392, 400.

stitutions of Illinois, Ohio, Mississippi, and Tennessee were so much alike as to make it impossible to determine the actual relationship. It is quite likely that the last was the original and that each of the others was derived from it, although the Illinois convention may have copied from the constitution of Ohio. If the Illinois convention followed the Ohio document, it eliminated the last sentence which forbade any amendment permitting the introduction of slavery.

The bill of rights, article eight, was drawn largely from the constitutions of Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. Nine sections out of twenty-three were almost identical with corresponding sections of Pennsylvania's constitution, seven were like Tennessee's constitution, six were like Kentucky's, a similar number like Ohio's, and five like Indiana's. About one half of the sections could be found almost exactly in the constitution of any one of these states, while not more than one third were original.

The constitution thus provided was in general like other Ohio Valley constitutions, but there were some differences that may be noted. It contained the usual provisions for separate executive, legislative, and judicial departments, for a militia, and nearly the same arrangement for amendment, and about the same bill of rights. The legislature was predominant as in the other states. However, there were no property qualifications for officeholding as in Tennessee. Since the constitutions of Ohio and Indiana were quite democratic there were only slight differences in this respect. Age and residence requirements for officials were generally lower. The residence requirement for voting was only

six months in contrast to one year in Indiana and Ohio, while the tax requirement of Ohio was not adopted. A nationalistic tendency is indicated by the omission of the provision that the state possessed all powers necessary for "a free and independent state," and the addition of the requirement that the governor should have been a citizen of the United States for thirty years, while Indiana had required only ten years, and Ohio had been content with state citizenship.

It therefore appears that the southern influences in the years before 1818 in the area north of the Ohio River were more important than those of other sections. There were, however, two main types of southern culture, that of the Upland South and that of the Lowland. Ideals of society, of political and economic organization, differed very materially. The movement for statehood, which found expression in the campaign for members of the convention, and in the constitution which was formed, revealed the contest between these different cultures or ways of life. A majority of the delegates are known to have represented in some degree southern influences. The constitution was largely a compilation of provisions taken from other Ohio Valley constitutions, but there were slight changes towards greater democracy and greater nationalism. Existing slavery and indentured servitude were not destroyed, but further introduction of these institutions was prohibited, except for a short period in the Salines. Although the greater liberality towards servitude may have been due to the influence of the plantation culture, the constitution as a whole represented the ideals of the numerous emigrants from the Southern Upland.

FRONTIER SKETCHES

BY C. C. CARTER

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III. THE SCHOOLMISTRESS*

And yet I love thee not—thy brow
Is but the sculptors' mould;
It wants a shade—it wants a glow—
It is less fair than cold.

THE family of the pioneer consisted of girls as well as boys; and though the former were never so well educated as the latter, they were seldom allowed to go wholly untaught.

Such modern refinements as the separation of the sexes in schools had not obtained currency at the period of the pioneer in the Country of the Illinois. One of the lessons learned by observation of the domestic circle, and particularly of the influence of a mother over her children, is the principle that a woman can teach males of a certain age quite as well as a man, and females much better. Since the schoolteacher stands in the place of the parent, for a time, a mistress is far more desirable, especially for girls, than a master. Hence the latter had exercised his vocation in Illinois but a few years until he was followed by the former.

New England was the great nursery of this class. Emigration and the enticements and casualties of a seafaring life—drawing the men into their appropriate

* This is the final article in this series. The other articles, "The Politician" and "The Schoolmaster" appeared in the *Journals* for March and June, 1939.

channels of enterprise and adventure—had reduced their number below that of the women, thus remitting many of the latter to other than the usual occupation of the sex. Matrimony became a remote possibility to large numbers of women and attention to household duties gave place to various kinds of light labor. Since they were unlikely to have progeny of their own to rear, many resorted to teaching the children of others. Idleness was a rare vice; and New England girls—be it said to their honor—have seldom resembled “the lilies of the field” in aught save the fairness of their complexions. They have never displayed squeamishness about work, and if they could not benefit the rising generation in a maternal way they were willing to make themselves useful in a tutorial way. The people of that enlightened section of our country have always possessed the learning necessary to appreciate, and the philanthropy implied in the wish to dispel, the ignorance of all other quarters of the world. Thus a sufficient number of them were found willing to give up the comforts of home for the benefit of the “barbarians of the Illinois Country.”

The schoolmistress generally came from the “cradle” of intelligence, as well as of liberty, beyond the Hudson; and in the true spirit of benevolence she carried her blessings (herself the greatest) across the mountain barrier to bestow them *gratis* upon the spiritually and materially needy of the valleys of the Mississippi and the Illinois. Her vocation, or as it would be now called, her “mission,” was to teach—an impulse given her not only by her education but by Nature also. She had a constitutional tendency toward it—indeed a genius for it—like that which impels one to painting, another to

sculpture, another to a mechanical trade. And so perfectly was she adapted to teaching that the ignorant people of the Illinois Country, not recognizing her "divine appointment," were often at a loss to conjecture who or whether anybody could have taught her. For that same "ignorant" and too often ungrateful people, she was full of tender pity—the yearning of the missionary for the welfare of the flock. They were steeped in darkness but she carried the *light*—nay she was the light, and with a benignity often evinced by self-sacrifice, she carried it graciously over the land.

Heaven doth with us as we with torches do;
Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues,
Did not go forth of us 'twere all alike,
As if we had them not.

For the good of the race, or of any male individual, she would immolate herself even upon the altar of Hymen; and since the number to be benefited by such self-devotion was small in New England, but large in Illinois, she did well to seek a country beyond the Alleghenies for her benign dedication. All honor to the all-daring self-denial which brought to the forlorn bachelor of the Illinois Country a companion in his labors, a solace in his affliction, and a mother to his children!

Her name was invariably Grace, Charity, or Prudence; and if names were descriptive of the personal qualities of those who bore them, she would have been entitled to all three.

In the early ages of the world, names were supposed to be fair exponents of the personal characteristics of the persons who bore them. But since those qualities must be manifest before the name could be earned, all

who have never distinguished themselves in some way or other were said to be "nameless." In more modern times, however, an improvement on the system was introduced. The character was anticipated and the parents called their children what they wished them to be, in the hope that they would grow up to the standard thus imposed. And it is no doubt true that names thus bestowed had much influence in the development of character, on the same principle that the boards to which Indian women lash their infants soon after birth have much to do with the erect carriage of the mature savage.

A descriptive appellation is a perpetual memento of parental counsel, a substitute for barren precept, an endless exhortation to Grace, Charity or Prudence. I do not mean that calling a boy Cicero will certainly make him an orator, or that all Jeremiahs are necessarily prophets. It is not improbable, however, that the same peculiarities in the parents which dictate these expressive names may direct the character of the children by controlling their education. Moreover, it is unquestionable that the characteristics and even the fortunes of man are frequently daguerreotyped by a name given him in infancy.

Among those who have carried the custom of picturesque or expressive naming to an extent bordering on the ridiculous were the hard-headed champions of the true church-militant, the English Puritans. And the Puritans of New England—whatever advancing intelligence may have made them in the present—were for a long time faithful representatives of the oddities as well as of the virtues of their fathers. Accordingly we find the schoolmistress—being a descendant of Ja-

son's crew who landed from the Argonautic *Mayflower*—usually bearing a name thus significant, and manifesting, even at her age, traits of character justifying it. We will not be so ungallant as to inquire too curiously into the age of the schoolmistress; but, without disparagement to her youthfulness, we may be allowed to conjecture that in order to fit her so well for the duties of her responsible station, and incline her to undertake such labors, a goodly number of years must have been required. Yet she bore time well, for, unless married in the meanwhile, at thirty she was as youthful in manner as at eighteen.

But this is not surprising, for even as early as her twelfth year she had much the appearance of a mature woman—something like that noticed in young Quakers, by Thomas Clarkson—and her figure belonged to that rugged type which is adapted to bear, unscathed, more than the ravages of time. She was never above medium height, for the rigid rule of economy seemed to apply to flesh and blood as to all other things pertaining to her race; at all events, material had not been wasted in giving her extra longitude at the ends. Between the extremities, it might be different, for she was generally very long-waisted; and like her compeer, the schoolmaster, she had much more breadth than thickness. She was somewhat angular, of course, and rather bony; but this was only the natural correspondence between the external development and the mental and moral organization. Her eyes were usually blue and, to speak with accuracy, a little cold and grayish in their expression, like the sky on a bleak morning in autumn. Her forehead was very high and prominent, having, indeed, an exposed look like a shelterless knoll in an

open prairie; but, not content with this, though the hair above it was often thin, she usually dragged the latter forcibly back as if to increase the altitude of the former by extending the skin. Her mouth was of that class called "primped," but was filled with teeth of respectable dimensions.

Her arms were long, indeed a little skinny, and she swung them very freely when she walked; her hands, of no insignificant size, dangled at the extremities as if the joints of her wrists were insecure. She had large feet, too, and in walking, her toes were assiduously turned out. She had, however, almost always one very great attraction—a fine, clear, healthy complexion inherited from her ancestors beyond the Hudson. The only blemishes upon this were a little red on the tip of her nose and on the points of her cheek bones, and a good deal of down on her upper lip.

In manner and bearing she was brisk, prim, and sometimes a little "fidgety," as if she was conscious of sitting on a dusty chair; in fact, she had a way of searching nervously for her pocket as if to find a handkerchief with which to dust it off. She was a very fast walker and an equally rapid talker—taking usually very short steps as if afraid of splitting economical skirts, but using very long words as if entertaining no such apprehension about her throat. Her gait was too rapid to be graceful, and her voice was unconscious of its imperfections. At church—I beg pardon of her enlightened ancestors: I should say at "meeting"—her notes of praise were heard high above all the tumult of primitive singing; and with her chin thrown out and her shoulders drawn back, she looked as well as sounded like the impersonation of melody as distinguished from

harmony.

But postponing, for the present, our consideration of her qualifications as a teacher, we find that her characteristics were still more respectable and valuable as a private member of society. In this relation her most prominent trait, like that of her brother teacher, was her strained piety. In our subject this was not a mere bias but a constant, unflagging sentiment, an everyday manifestation. She was as warm in the cause of religion on one day as upon another, in small things as in great—as zealous in the repression of all unbecoming and ungodly levity as in the eradication of positive vice. Life was too solemn a thing with her to admit of thoughtless amusements. It was entirely a state of probation, not to be enjoyed in itself, or for itself, but purgatorial, remedial, and preparatory. She hated all devices of pleasure as her ancestors did the abominations of popery. A fiddle she could tolerate only in the shape of a bass viol; and dancing, if practiced at all, must be called “calisthenica.” The drama was to her an invention of the Enemy of Souls—and if she ever saw a play, it must be at a museum, and not within the walls of the temple of Baal, the theatre. None but “serious” conversation was allowable, while a hearty laugh was the expression of a spirit ripe for the destination of unforgiven sinners.

Errors in religion were too tremendous to be tolerated for a moment, and the form of worship handed down by her fathers had cost too much blood and crime to be oppugned. She thought Barebone’s the only godly parliament that ever sat, and did not hate Hume half so much for his infidelity as for his ridicule of the Roundheads. Her list of martyrs was made up of the intruders

ousted by Charles's Act of Conformity; her catalogue of saints was headed by the witch-boilers of Massachusetts Bay. She abhorred the memory of all popish persecutions, and knew no difference between Catholic and cannibal. She had no patience with those who could not "see the truth;" and he who reviled the Puritan mode of worship was "worse than the infidel." The only argument she ever used with such was the *argumentum ad hominem*, which saves the trouble of conviction. New England was to her the land of Goshen, whither God's people had been led by God's hand—"the land of the patriarchs, where it rains righteousness"—and all the Illinois Country was a land of Egyptian darkness.

She was commendably prudent in her personal deportment. Being thoroughly pure and circumspect herself, she could forgive no thoughtless imprudence in her sister-woman; but she well understood metaphysical distinctions, and was tolerant, if not liberal, to marriageable men. These she could hope to reform at some future time. She had, moreover, a just idea of the weakness of man's nature. But being a woman, and a staid and sober-minded woman, she could never understand the power of temptation in her own sex, or the commonest impulses of high spirits. Perhaps she was a little deficient in charity, but, as we have seen, it was chiefly toward her female friends, and since none can bear severe judgment more safely than woman, her austerity did little harm.

But she sincerely regretted what she could never palliate; she hated not the guilty, though she could not forgive the sin; and no one was more easily melted to tears by the faults, and particularly by the follies, of the world. Wickedness is a very melancholy thing, but

it is to be punished as well as lamented. Like the unfortunate governor who was forced to condemn his own son, she wept while she pronounced judgment. But earthly sorrow by her was given only to earthly faults; violations of simple good morals, crimes against heavenly creeds and forms (or rather the form) of worship, claimed no tear. Her blood rose to fever heat at the mention of an unbeliever, and she would as soon have wept for the errors of the fallen angels as for those of anti-Robinsonians.

Though thus rigid and austere, it was never hinted that she was at all disinclined to being courted, especially if it gave her any prospect of being able to make herself useful as a wife. She understood the art of rearing and managing children in her capacity as a teacher; she was thus peculiarly well-fitted for matrimonial duties, and was unwilling that the world should lose the benefit of her talents. But the man who courted her must do so in the most sober strain and regulated spirit, for it was seldom any romance about "love and nonsense" which moved her to the sacrifice. If she entertained notions of that sort, they were only such as could find a place in her well-balanced mind, and were the subject of no raptures or transports of delight. If she indulged any enthusiasm, in view of the approaching change, it was in the prospect of endless shirt-making, and in calculations about how cheaply—not how happily—she could enable her husband to live. She had no squeamish delicacy about allowing the world to know the scope and meaning of her arrangements, and all her friends participated in her visions of comfort and economy.

Though she cared little for poetry and seldom understood the images of fancy, she was not averse to a modi-

cum of scandal in moments of relaxation, for the faults of others were the illustrations of her prudent maxims, and the thoughtlessness of a sister was the best possible text for a moral homily. The tense rigidity of her character, too, sometimes required a little unbending. She had, therefore, no special aversion to an occasional surreptitious novel. But this she would indulge only in private, for in her mind the worst quality of transgression was its bad example, and she never failed in public to condemn all such things with becoming and virtuous severity. Nor must this apparent inconsistency be construed to her disadvantage. Her strong mind and well-fortified morals could withstand safely what would have corrupted a large majority of those around her, and it was meet that one whose "mission" it was to reform should thoroughly understand the enemy against which she battled. These things never unfavorably affected her life and manners, for she was as prudent in her deportment—ill-natured people say prudish—as if some ancestress of hers had been deceived and left in the family a tradition of man's perfidy and woman's frailty.

She was careful, then, of three things—her clothes, her money, and her reputation. To do her justice, the last was as spotless as the first and as much prized as the second, and that is saying a good deal both for its purity and estimation. Neat, economical and prudent were indeed the three capital adjectives of her vocabulary. To deserve them was her eleventh commandment.

With one exception these were the texts of her homilies, and the exception was unluckily one which admitted of much more argument. It was the history of the Puritans. Upon this subject she was as dexterous

as a special pleader as Neale, and as skillful in giving a false coloring to facts as D'Aubigné. But she had the advantage of these worthies in that her declamation was quite honest; she had been taught sincerely and heartily to believe all she asserted. She was of the opinion that but two respectable ships had been set afloat since the world began. One of these was Noah's Ark, the other was the *Mayflower*. She believed that no people had ever endured such persecutions as the Puritans, and she was especially eloquent upon the subject of "New England's Blarneystone," the Rock of Plymouth.

But, as we have intimated, in the course of time the schoolmistress became a married woman, and as she gathered experience she gradually learned that New England was not the whole "moral vineyard," and that one might be more profitably employed than in disputing about questionable points of history. New duties devolved upon her, and new responsibilities rained fast. Instead of teaching the children of other people, she now reared children for other people to teach. New sources of pride were found in these and in her husband and his prosperity. She discovered that she could be religious without bigotry, modest without prudery, and economical without meanness. Profiting by the lessons thus learned she subsided into a true, faithful and respectable matron, thus, at last, fulfilling her genuine "mission."

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE ANGEL GABRIEL'S LEDGER

Beaumont, Kansas
August 1, 1939

Editor
Journal Ill. State Hist. Society
Springfield, Illinois

DEAR SIR:

I am reminded of something which has needed to cool five or six years before I could think about it historically.

In 1933, in a series of tribulations within a few weeks, I lost by death three men who seemed indispensable to me. One was George P. Robinson, one of the most experienced cattlemen in the world, who after my own father's death had been a business mentor to me in the range cattle business. At the time of which I write, Mr. Robinson decided to take a vacation in Colorado. I was one of the last to see him alive. He drove his own big automobile, although an old man, and missed a bridge on one of the Colorado canyons.

It has taken me several years to see the difference between the news business which recorded his passing, and the history function such as practiced by your Society. On September 15, 1933, the *Kansas City Daily Drovers' Telegram* published these headlines, which to scores of us trying to survive the drought-burning of the ranges sounded like the bottom had dropped out of our various and several wooden buckets: "Uncle George Robinson Killed—Motor Car Crash in Colorado Causes Death of Veteran Commission Man. Colorful Old-Timer, Who Would Have Been 77 Years Old Sunday, Was On His Way To Visit Big Game Hunter." The news story then repeated: "Mr. Robinson, who would have been 77 years old next Sunday, was killed instantly in the crash, which occurred near Thatcher, only a few miles from where he spent half a lifetime on the Colorado range."

It has taken time, which heals all such shocks and wounds, for me to group together the random facts in Mr. Robinson's biography, and to derive by the slower and more deliberate process of recording history, that his major achievement was not the newsy coincidence that had he lived from a Thursday to a Sunday, he might have been threescore and ten plus seven more years. My story is that when George Robinson was yet unknown to the West he already, at seventeen years, was the most famous boy in Illinois. Then, instead of resting all the rest of his days on the laurels of his youth, he became a typical plainsman. He forgot his seventeenth year and so did Illinois. And more's the pity for the history business. To his earliest distinction he simply added a survivorship of "Sixty Years in the Front Seat of Range Saddles."

I got my job of worrying about grass and the weather of 1933, under the mentorship of "Old George" by natural processes. My father began his contact with wild range cattle in 1871 out of Illinois to Council Grove, Kansas. He first began mind-reading the wiles of long-horned Texas steers off the overland trails to Abilene, Junction City and other points, before the railheads reached Newton, Wichita, and Dodge City. His first experiences in the saddle were with the Diamond Springs outfit, of which the late George P. Morehouse, son of Horace Morehouse of Decatur, Illinois, has written much in the journals of the Kansas Historical Society. But even with such sustained continuity as a spectator of the western grass pageant, I whimpered to Mr. Robinson when the big heat was turned on in 1933 and the die-up of promises-to-renew got under way for it appeared to me that the range cattle business had about reached the end of its rope. Old George in his time had laughed many a rancher in such faltering moments back on his feet, and with his morale braced them to take the knock-out with a grin. He admitted that in all his years he had never before observed such a variety of adverse conditions on range smite such a spread of pot-shot geography, but he remarked that by the time I had weathered out as many years as he had, I would learn, when I felt the end of the rope slipping up, merely "to tie a hard knot in the end of the rope, and to hang on."

Early that year Mr. Robinson had enjoyed the publication of some playful reminiscences (in which he joshed previous publica-

tion of a narrative of range experiences by A. W. Thompson of Denver), the purport of which, under title "I Remember When—," was that Old George had rung up quite a few episodes with big cattle outfits before the earliest dated episode in the Thompson stories. Mr. Robinson wrote:

I am one man still living who can go back farther than the dates covered by Mr. Thompson's article.¹ At the age of 20 I landed in Colfax County, New Mexico, October 10, 1876, at what was then the Col. Marr ranch on the Una de Gato creek, but which is now part of the TO ranch holdings, arriving there from the little state of Rhode Island.

It was my bantering about how far back Old George could date grief on range grass which smoked him out that, out of a clear sky, led to his talking about a gold watch. He said that he had not thought of this watch for years. At the moment he could not recall even what had become of the watch. But the context of this conversation was that if he knew what had become of the old misplaced watch he could approximate from a date on it when he began riding with the famous range brands and pioneer outfits which he enumerated in detail in "I Remember When—."²

As a young man he came west, and enroute stopped at Dixon, Illinois to see an uncle. He said that there was a big public baptism in the river which drew a great crowd of spectators on a bridge, and that either the crowd broke the railing or the overloaded bridge collapsed. At any rate, many people were drowned falling into the river. As a boy he had learned to swim like a mink, and he kicked off his shoes and shed some of his clothes and began helping people out of the river. As the old man told me the yarn, it is my recollection that he claimed to have helped 18 or 19 people ashore, but he became too tired to swim another stroke. He said: "All these years I have been haunted by a woman's hand sticking up out of the water. I can even see her rings sometimes. But I was done for, and I saw her hand sink."³

The history part is that he told me that the mayor of Dixon,

¹ *The Cattleman*, Sept., 1932. This is the official organ of the Texas and Southwest Cattle Raisers' Association. It is published at Fort Worth, Texas.

² *The Cattleman*, Jan., 1933. Reprinted in *The Kansas Stockman*, Feb. 1, 1933, published at Topeka, Kansas. This is the official organ of the Kansas Livestock Association.

³ See *ante.*, p. 345, for another account of this disaster.



BRIDGE AT DIXON BEFORE ITS COLLAPSE



DIXON BRIDGE AFTER THE DISASTER

Illinois, or the public, or somebody—I forget the exact circumstances—presented him with a gold watch with an inscription: "Presented to George P. Robinson by the Citizens of Dixon, Illinois for saving 19 lives," with the date, which he had forgotten.

Thinking of this circumstance it has occurred to me that perhaps no one now at Dixon, Illinois, or the Historical Society, or anybody else but myself might know that the boy of the Dixon episode was one and the same as the late George P. Robinson of Stuart-Robinson-Hoover Commission Company, Robinson Cattle Loan Company, Vermejo Park ranch in New Mexico and Colorado, etc.

My suggestion is this: If you have a local history in your library which might mention a bridge disaster at Dixon, Illinois in the early '70's, or if you have bound volumes of newspapers of the time, you might verify whether there might be record of the gold-watch episode.

At the time of Mr. Robinson's death, columns were printed in the cattle magazines and market papers telling of his colorful life as a pioneer in the range business.

It might be a service to the Historical Society to connect the river episode with his later career.

There was a confidential feature connected with his mentioning the watch. I wanted him to tell me about a massacre of a certain tribe of Indians by the cattlemen, which he said would have to wait because it had been bitterly censured, but he said if you or anybody, preachers and all alike, had found women and little children mutilated while the ranchers were obliged to be away from home, you also would have cleaned up that district the same as pastures have been cleaned of rattlesnakes. Then he brought up the watch story, with the inference of a sort of balanced Ledger Account, to the effect that some men had on their consciences episodes of the old range wars with one life or two or three all waiting against them on the Debit Charge Account, but he laughed off this yarn by saying that the Angel Gabriel would have to let him by with 18 or 19 lives' credit from Dixon, Illinois.

If "Old George" was joshing me, well and good. If there was a bridge crash and gold watch presentation it seems to me exactly what annals are for: to identify this famous cattleman as the boy who swam like a mink.

Very truly yours,

GARLAND P. FERRELL

The iron bridge over the Rock River at Dixon, Illinois, to which Mr. Ferrell refers in the foregoing letter, collapsed suddenly on Sunday, May 4, 1873. About two hundred men, women, and children, who were watching a baptismal ceremony, were thrown into the river; thirty-seven were drowned, or killed by the falling structure, and more than fifty were seriously injured.

Several contemporary accounts of the tragedy have been consulted, but none contains any mention of George P. Robinson. On the other hand, when Mr. Ferrell's letter was shown to Mr. Frank E. Stevens, who was living in Dixon in 1873, Mr. Stevens stated that he had a vague recollection of the life-saving incident. Unwilling to trust his own memory, he questioned several old-time residents of Dixon, and found two who remembered that a watch was given to a young man in appreciation of his heroic efforts, although none recalled the young man's name or the number of lives that he had saved.

The photographs of the Dixon bridge before and after the disaster are published by courtesy of Mr. Frank E. Stevens.—*Editor*.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE LEGEND OF STARVED ROCK

To the Editor's knowledge, the following is the first printed account of the traditionary episode which gave Starved Rock its name.—*Editor.*

With great exertions, we had proceeded two or three miles above the Vermillion, and about 4 o'clock, we encamped near a remarkable isolated hill, called by French voyageurs *Le Rocher*, and

ROCK FORT

This is an elevated cliff on the left bank of the Illinois, consisting of parallel layers of white sandstone. It is not less than two hundred and fifty feet high, perpendicular on three sides, and washed at its base by the river. On the fourth side it is connected with the adjacent range of hills by a narrow peninsular ledge, which can only be ascended by a precipitous, winding path. The summit of this rock is level, and contains about three-fourths of an acre. It is covered with a soil of several feet in depth, bearing a growth of young trees. Strong and almost inaccessible by nature, this natural battlement has been still further fortified by the Indians, and many years ago was the scene of a desperate conflict between the Pottowatomies, and one band of the Illinois Indians. The latter fled to this place for refuge from the fury of their enemies. The post could not be carried by assault, and tradition says that the besiegers finally succeeded, after many repulses, by cutting off the supply of water. To procure this article the besieged let down vessels attached to ropes of bark, from a part of the precipice which overhangs the river, but their enemies succeeded in cutting off these ropes as often as they were let down. The consequence was a surrender, which was followed by a total extirpation of the band.

On gaining the top of this rock we found a regular entrenchment, corresponding to the edge of the precipice, and within this

other excavations, which, from the thick growth of brush and trees, could not be satisfactorily examined. The labour of many hands was manifest, and a degree of industry which the Indians have not usually bestowed upon works of defence. We found upon this elevation broken muscle shells, fragments of antique pottery, and stones which had been subjected to the action of heat, resembling certain lavas.

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley* (1825), 319-20.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER GAMBLING: THE PROCESS

I was playing poker once on the steamer *General Quitman*. The party were all full of grape juice. Along about morning the game was reduced to single-handed, and the man I was playing with was fast asleep, so I picked up the deck and took four aces and four kings out, with an odd card to each. I gave him the kings and I took the aces. I gave him a hunch, and told him to wake up and look at his hand. He partly raised his hand, but laid it down again, and I knew he had not seen it. I gave him a push and shook him up pretty lively, and he opened his eyes. I said: "Come, look at your hand, or I will quit." He got a glimpse of it, and I never saw such a change in a man's countenance. He made a dive for his money and said: "I will bet you \$100, for I want to show you I am not asleep." I told him I thought he was "bluffing." I said in a joking way: "I will raise you \$1,000." So he pulled out his money and laid it on the table, and said: "I will only call you, but I know I have you beat." I showed down four big live aces, and he was awake sure enough after that. He never went into any more of those fits, and we played until they wanted the table for breakfast. I used to make it a point to "cold deck" a sucker on his own deal, as they then had great confidence in their hands. My old paw is large enough to hold out a compressed bale of cotton or a whole deck of cards, and it comes in very handy to do the work. I could hold one deck in the palm of my hand and shuffle up another, and then come the change on his deal. It requires a great deal of cheek and gall, and I was always endowed with both—that is, they used to say so down South.

GEORGE H. DEVOL, *Forty Years A Gambler*, 24-25.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER GAMBLING: THE RESULT

LOUISVILLE

July 15th 1839

Mr. Dixon

DR SIR

I take my pen in hand, to inform you of an event that you little expect. I proceeded in relation to the draft as you directed, and deposited it and took a certificate of the same and called on my return and got the money but was obliged to leave the Boat for want of time to get it. After drawing the money it struck me that I could make a first rate speculation by going back to Louisville and buying up Mineral Point money Cairo and Dubuque which was selling at a discount of from five to ten per cent discount. Accordingly I started on a Boat up the river (for ever to my shame be it spoken) and on my way there I got engaged in playing Poker for the first and last time in my life for money. I got a hand I supposed to be the best in the deck, and I commenced betting and my opponent backed me up until we got up to Eight Thousand dollars and then called me, and to my astonishment and ruin he held the best hand whereas mine was but the second best. Judge of my feelings at this time. It nearly turned me mad. I resolved in my mind during the night what was to be done. Return I could not, so I resolved to send for my family, and leave the country, until by the means of the balance I could return and pay you which if the Lord lives and my soul lives shall be done as soon as any honest business will enable me so to do. . . .

FILES, ILLINOIS STATE AUDITOR, SPRINGFIELD.

CONVENTION HIGHLIGHT, 1840

One of the highlights of the boisterous campaign of 1840 was the Whig Young Men's Convention, held in Springfield on June 2nd, 3rd and 4th. One of the highlights of that convention was the incident described below, which is of particular interest by reason of the fact that E. D. Baker himself came to be known as "The Gray Eagle" in later life.—*Editor*.

One of the most beautiful and interesting scenes which the late Convention has called forth, was the presentation of the neat

beautiful Brig which was brought from Chicago by the chivalric delegation from that City. On the morning of the 5th, when the delegation had struck their tents, and was about taking up their line of march for their homes, they marched in procession with banners floating to the breeze, and with the music of the splendid Band which accompanies them, through the streets of our City, until they came opposite the *Journal* office. Here Mr. Stuart, of the *Chicago American*, who was one of the delegation, made a happy and appropriate address, in which, in behalf of the delegation from Cook, he presented the beautiful brig to the whigs of Sangamon, as typical of the Ship of State, which they were willing to entrust to their keeping.—We will not attempt a sketch of his address on the occasion, as we trust it will be given to the public by its author. After the applause had ceased at the close of the remarks of Mr. Stuart, Mr. Baker arose, and in behalf of the Citizens of Sangamon, tendered their thanks for the noble present, and the confiding trust reposed in them by their friends. In return, on the part of the whigs of Sangamon, he presented the delegation with a noble GREY EAGLE. He described it as young, like our Republic, and as we now are, tied and manacled; and he requested that whilst our country continues to be misruled and misgoverned, and tied to the car of power, that this Eagle, the emblem bird of our Republic, might be likewise restrained of its liberty; but that, when they should hear the tidings in November of the election of the war worn veteran of Tippecanoe to the Presidency, he then desired that the Eagle may be loosed from its fetters, and permitted to roam free as the breezes of heaven, and as the principles we advocate. His description of the Eagle's flight when it should soar aloft, and the prospect that would greet its vision, was portrayed in his happiest style. The Chicago delegation responded to the request, and whilst they bore off the noble bird in triumph, the beautiful Brig was delivered up with every mast standing, and every brace stayed and the national ensign floating in the breeze—to be preserved by old Sangamon, until the good Ship of State, with Harrison at its helm, and with Wisdom and Patriotism to man her, and freighted with abundance and beauty, should upon a summer's sea of glory, steer her way to a harbor of prosperity and happiness.

An incident occurred during the presentation of the Eagle to

the Chicago delegation which merits notice, and is ominous of the happy results which await the exertions of the Whigs. When Mr. Baker, in one of his most happy strains of eloquence, was describing the broad flight of that noble bird when freed from his cage, by the election of Gen. Harrison, and the happiness and prosperity which that event would bring back to the country, the noble bird, which before appeared to droop and languish, suddenly, and as if roused by the allusion, reared its head, expanded its eyes, and gave a loud cry, responding the sentiment of the Speaker and the crowd.

Sangamo Journal, June 5, 1840.

ANOTHER LINCOLN STORY

A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* gives the hitherto unpublished anecdote of Abraham Lincoln:

Once, when conversing with the Hon. J. A. Briggs, the Ohio State Agent, he said: "Why, Briggs, I believe there is even a system of female brokerage in offices here in Washington, for I am constantly beset by women of all sorts, high and low, pretty and ugly, modest and the other sort. Here, yesterday, a very handsome young lady called; she would not take a denial, was admitted, and went straight to work soliciting a certain office for somebody supposed to be her husband. She plead her cause dexterously, eloquently, and at times was almost successful by her impotunate entreaties. By degrees she came closer and closer to me as I sat in my chair until really her face was so near my own that I thought she wanted me to kiss her; when my indignation came to my relief, and drawing myself back and straightening myself up, I gave her the proper sort of a look and said: 'Mrs.——, you are very pretty, and it's very tempting, BUT I WON'T.' "

Belleville Advocate, July 8, 1866.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Strictly speaking, *Life in America*¹ is a catalog. Generally speaking, catalogs are ephemeral. But not this one. Its 230 pages reproduce and describe the 290 paintings which make a special loan exhibition at the Metropolitan during the period of the New York World's Fair. Three centuries of life in America is the subject; the record is the work of the artists. A quick glance through the pages of the catalog will convince anyone that the brush can be an instrument of history as well as the pen. Certainly many a scene and personality have been preserved with a degree of fidelity impossible had words alone been the medium. Not many of the pictures in this book are concerned with Illinois subjects, but a goodly group deals with the frontier and with rural America, thus teaching the state indirectly.



George Croghan's journal² of his trip to Detroit in the summer and fall of 1767 has just been published from the original in the William L. Clements Library. The journal, which commences at Fort Pitt on October 16, 1767, is supplemented by several letters from Croghan to General Gage and Benjamin Franklin written during the four preceding months. Letters and journal both furnish authentic data on conditions on the frontier, the Illinois Country included, in the troubled period which followed the French and Indian War. The journal of this trip has not been published before.



The Illinois Citizen. A Civics Text for Illinois Schools,³ by Richard G. Browne and Irving F. Pearson, is the most recent book on its subject. Although it encompasses both geography and history its emphasis is upon government. Designed for use in junior high

¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, \$1.00.

² *George Croghan's Journal of his Trip to Detroit in 1767*, edited by Howard H. Peckham; University of Michigan Press. \$1.25.

³ The Macmillan Company.

schools, *The Illinois Citizen* is naturally simple in style. Nevertheless, the adult resident of Illinois who can read it without adding materially to his stock of information about his state is exceedingly well-informed.



The Aurora Historical Society held its annual Old Settlers' picnic at Phillips Park on August 30. Mrs. Fannie Hopkins Peffers was in charge of the event. While the older settlers of the community are the honored guests on this occasion, the picnic always attracts both young and old.



Plans are being made in Belvidere for the erection of a memorial to General Stephen A. Hurlbut. The Boone County Historical Society and other civic groups are co-operating in this undertaking. The Belvidere guide book, now being prepared, is another project in which the Boone County Society is assisting.



The annual meeting of the Bureau County Historical Society was held on June 17. Officers and directors were elected and several amendments to the constitution were passed. The following directors were elected: Miss Grace Bryant, E. B. Cushing, Mrs. H. P. Grove, J. A. Omen, Mrs. H. M. McKee, Daniel D. Russell, R. L. Russell, all of Princeton; E. F. Norton, Neponset; Ward K. Schori and B. P. McClellan, Tiskilwa; Mrs. Edna O. Clark, Walnut; Mrs. Eva E. Howard and Mrs. Carl Kramer, Ohio; Charles Savio, Spring Valley; and Con Brown, Wyand. Officers elected by the directors include the following: Mrs. H. P. Grove, president; Miss Grace Bryant, vice-president; Ward K. Schori, secretary; and F. S. Fowler, treasurer.

Plans for the coming year include some additions to the historical museum of the Society. It is hoped that through the museum extension project of the W.P.A. some new exhibits as well as cases for displaying them may be obtained. T. A. Fenoglio is custodian of the museum which is located in the basement of the courthouse.

A barbecue was held by the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County in place of the regular June meeting.

Officers of the Society, elected in the spring, include the following: Charles P. Boyer, president; C. F. Gerger and John E. Miller, vice-presidents; Josephine Boylan, secretary; and Mrs. Nell Walsh Barnes, treasurer.



In this season of world's fairs, the Chicago Historical Society has arranged a timely exhibit. Included are a diorama of the Golden Gate Exposition, pictures from the New York World's Fair, a diorama of the World's Columbian Exposition, and prints from every fair since the time of Prince Albert.

A new and interesting display at the Chicago Historical Society is the stamp exhibit to be found in the Numismatic Room. Another room in the building which is attracting favorable comment is that devoted to a century of women's fashions.



One of the most important activities of the West Side Historical Society is the Annual Essay Contest conducted among the schools, both elementary and high, on the west side of Chicago. In 1938-1939, the subject of the contest was the "history of some business firm in the district" and it was won by the Local History Club of the Steinmetz High School. The Club took the history of Sears, Roebuck & Company as the subject of its essay. The Social Science Club of Tuley High School won second prize. The Robert Emmet, Hammond, Avondale, and Grant schools were awarded prizes for their histories of the streets of the west side. The prizes were donated by Otto Eisenschiml, chairman of the Board of Directors of the West Side Society.

This year the Society visited the historic spots around Palos Hills on its annual spring tour.



At the annual meeting of the Englewood Historical Association held in May, Lincoln Rogers, director of the Southtown Planning Association, described the work of that organization. Willis E. Tower is president of the Englewood group.

The month of June saw the publication of the first issue of the *Des Plaines Historical Journal*, published by the Des Plaines Historical Society. This issue, which consists of sixteen mimeographed pages, is both lively and informative. It is also a good indication of what can be done at relatively small expense.



Glamorous Galena is the title of an eighty-four page booklet written and published by Richard Gear Hobbs. The text covers all phases of Galena's colorful history, and also includes an account of the recently established Galena Historical Museum, an itinerary for visitors who wish to cover Galena systematically, and a chronology of Galena history. Illustrations and maps enhance the interest of the text.



On June 7 a bronze tablet honoring the memory of General Benjamin H. Grierson, Union cavalry leader and highest ranking Civil War officer buried in Morgan County, was unveiled at the American Legion Memorial Home, Jacksonville, with impressive ceremonies. The Honorable Walter W. Wright made the address on this occasion and presented the tablet to Post 279 of the American Legion. Acceptance on behalf of the post was by Commander George Vasconcellos. The tablet was unveiled by Commander John E. Andrew, Illinois Department, Grand Army of the Republic. Mrs. Henry W. English, one of the directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, presided.



The Illinois State Archaeological Society has been successful in uniting the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota into a Federation of Archaeological Societies of the Mississippi Valley.

The plan of the Federation is to visit each successive year, the archaeological high spots of the states comprising the federation. Illinois will have the first meeting in October. Anyone who is interested in visiting the habitations of prehistoric men in southern

Illinois, please communicate with the president, Dr. J. B. Ruyle, 9 Main Street, Champaign, Illinois, for the exact dates in October on which the meeting will be held.

This is to be a two-day field trip—no papers—and among the various archaeological sites which will be visited are the Pictographs at Fountain Bluff, the Linn Village Site, Kinkaid, Illinois where the University of Chicago has been excavating the last few years, the King mounds at Wickliffe, Kentucky and other interesting features of southern Illinois.



A survey to determine the approximate sites of Indian villages, camps, mounds, and burial places in the ten counties of the East St. Louis area has recently been undertaken. The Illinois State Museum and the Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings are directing the work which is being done with W.P.A. funds. The Madison County Historical Society is also lending assistance. The project is in charge of Paul J. Maynard.



Jersey County observed the close of its first hundred years of existence with a celebration on June 22, 23, 24 and 25 in Jerseyville. All the towns and townships of the county were represented in the events planned by the Jersey County Centennial Association.

Joseph E. Knight, president of the Jersey County Historical Society, gave the address which officially opened the festivities. The historical pageant, "Jersey County's Heritage," which was presented nightly by a cast of some seven hundred was one of the outstanding features of the celebration.



A group of men and women interested in preserving the history of their community are taking steps toward the organization of a LaGrange Historical Society. At a meeting on June 7, Mrs. Alex C. Dallach was elected chairman of the movement, with John Windsor named as vice-chairman and Miss Lillian Burkholder as secretary. A number of committees were appointed to organize the activities of the proposed society by the time of its first public meeting this fall.

A life-size statue of Abraham Lincoln was dedicated at the courthouse in Lincoln, Illinois on June 21. It was presented to Logan County by the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs of the city. Harry Augspurg, president of the Rotary Club, acted as master of ceremonies at the dedication exercises. Elmer Leimbach, president of the board of supervisors, and Lawrence B. Stringer, judge of the county court, made speeches of acceptance.



The memory of Benjamin Lundy, pioneer abolitionist, was honored on August 20 when a permanent marker was placed on his grave near McNabb, Illinois. Alumni of the John Swaney Consolidated School co-operated with the Illinois Society of Friends in planning the memorial services. Lundy will be remembered as the publisher of the *National Enquirer* and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. He died on August 22, 1839.



The centennial of the founding of Nauvoo was observed on June 24 and 25 in Nauvoo and Carthage. On the first day of the celebration, some of the old Mormon homes were visited. A pageant and festival were held later in the day. On the morning of June 25, centennial services were held on the site of the Mormon Temple in Nauvoo. In the afternoon, memorial exercises were held in Carthage to commemorate the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith which occurred there on June 27, 1844.



The organization of another local historical society in Illinois may be announced within the near future. Last spring a number of the citizens of Maywood interested in the history of their community met to discuss the ways and means of starting such a society.



The latest volume of the *Ohio Historical Collections* (Vol. IX) is *The Genesis of Western Culture*,⁴ by James M. Miller. Restricting him-

⁴ Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus.

self to the Upper Ohio Valley between the years 1800 and 1825, the author has sought to avoid placing undue emphasis on the sensational, and to develop a rounded picture of life in a frontier environment. His book, therefore, is somewhat soberer than some others covering the same field, but, one suspects, somewhat sounder also.

"The early culture of the Middle West," Mr. Miller concludes, "is found to derive its genesis from the road, the tavern, the church, the school, the court, and the press, and to express its product through these same institutions. But a study of these monuments convinces one of nothing so impressively as the significance of the men who were responsible for them. In no period of American history, in no region, in no social group, has the worth of the individual man so strongly asserted itself."



When the Peoria Historical Society held its annual meeting on May 23, Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Springfield, spoke on "Lawyers: Lincoln and Douglas." At the election of officers after the program, the following were elected: G. R. Barnett, president; Ernest E. East and Dallas Sweney, vice-presidents; Miss Naomi Lagron, treasurer; and Miss Emma Shriner, secretary. Directors of the Society for the coming year include: Howard A. Hunter, Miss Naomi Lagron, A. R. Buis, Thomas H. Detweiller, E. C. Bessler, Mrs. O. B. Stitely, and Miss Myrtis Evans.



The Unitarian Church of Quincy celebrated its centennial by issuing an attractive brochure by Dr. E. B. Montgomery, covering the first one hundred years of its history. The congregation was founded on April 8, 1839, when the Reverend William G. Eliot of St. Louis, a Unitarian pastor who was also the founder of Washington University, preached the first of a series of sermons in the Adams County courthouse.



The fiftieth anniversary of the annexation of Lake View Township to the city of Chicago was observed in July by the Ravenswood-

Lake View Historical Association. A special display of maps and pictures of Lake View at the time of its annexation was arranged by the Society at its headquarters in the Hild Regional Branch Library.



The Riverside Historical Society arranged an appropriate program in May when the village was a mass of blossoms. Orpheus M. Schantz, naturalist, talked to members of the Society and their guests on "The Unusual and Rare Trees in Riverside."



The Rock Island Historical Society held its spring meeting and banquet on May 19. Paul M. Angle, Springfield, the speaker of the evening, compared the old time historical societies with present-day organizations.

At the meeting of the Directors of the Society on May 31, Professor Henry F. Staack of Augustana College, was named chairman of a membership committee. A special effort is being made this fall to secure new members for the Society. It was decided to hold the September meeting in Hampton, with a visit to the Sikes historical museum as the main feature on the program.



The seventy-fifth Anniversary Edition of the *Sparta News-Plaindealer* was issued on May 19, 1939. Four of the six sections of this edition, which totals fifty-two pages, are devoted to the history of Sparta and Randolph County, and constitute as meritorious a publication as any of its kind that have appeared in recent years, regardless of the size of the city represented.

One of the notable features of this Anniversary Edition is a comprehensive history of Randolph County by W. R. Karsteter of Chester, written a number of years ago but published here for the first time. The many photographs picturing events, people and places of the past are another valuable feature.

The publishers are to be commended not only on the contents of this edition, but also for their foresight in printing the four historical sections on durable paper. This publication is certainly one which deserved to be produced in permanent form.

Taylorville took on the aspect of a pioneer town during the week of July 23-29 when its centennial and that of Christian County were celebrated. Bonnets and old-fashioned dresses were seen in great numbers. Many of the men were also dressed in the style of their ancestors, and numerous beards and goatees were in evidence as a result of the whisker-growing contest of the preceding three months.

Special features were planned for every day, with the historical parade and pageant one of the highlights of the week. Numerous contests were also sponsored by the centennial committee. The Christian County Fair, running concurrently, offered other entertainment features for the numerous visitors.



Teutopolis, Illinois held its centennial celebration on September 2, 3, and 4. The Lions Club was in charge of the program, the main feature of which was the historical pageant depicting the history of the town. Joseph Siemer was chairman of the celebration.



The Warren County Historical Society is caring for the old burying grounds of the county, many of which have been greatly neglected. The board of supervisors has appropriated some money to the Society for assistance in this work.



Williamson County held its centennial celebration at Herrin from August 29 to September 1, in connection with the county fair. On "Patriotic Day" the various towns and communities of the county entered floats in the centennial parade.

The centennial of Williamson County is responsible for the compilation and publication of an unusual contribution to Illinois history—*Pioneer Folks and Places: An Historic Gazetteer of Williamson County, Illinois*,⁵ by Barbara Burr Hubbs. This well-printed, well-bound volume of 245 pages contains a brief history of the area now known as Williamson County, lists of county officers, state repre-

⁵ Egyptian Publications, Herrin, Illinois. \$2.00.

sentatives and congressmen from the county, and concise histories, alphabetically arranged, of all places in the county. *Pioneer Folks and Places* will be serving a useful purpose long after all other events connected with the Williamson County centennial have been forgotten.



Ye Olde Towne Folkes of Wilmette held their annual meeting and banquet on May 23. On this occasion they discussed the possibilities of forming a Wilmette Historical Society. Colonel George R. Harbaugh is president of Ye Olde Towne Folkes.



Two hundred and five members are now enrolled in the Winnetka Historical Society. The following officers for the coming year were elected in the spring: Mrs. Carrie Burr Prouty, president; Alfred M. Freeman, vice-president; Mary S. King, secretary; and Mrs. H. K. Humphrey, treasurer.

At the meeting of the Society on May 9, a historical sketch of the Winnetka town meetings was given by S. Bowles King. Frank A. Windes presented notes from the records of the Winnetka Village Council of the 1870's.



The annual picnic of the Woodford County Historical Society was again held at the L. J. Freese farm, near Eureka, on August 31. Memorial services for those who died within the past year were held during the afternoon, with Judge W. H. Foster of Eureka in charge.

The Woodford County Society is now in its thirty-ninth year of existence. Its historical collection is housed in the old courthouse in Metamora.



At the meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn on May 12, Dr. Leslie W. Schwab gave a stereoptican lecture on "Parks of Chicago." A group of children from the Walter Scott school were presented in a playlet depicting the history of Woodlawn.

In the December, 1938 issue of the *Journal*, announcement was made that one of the members of the Society had offered a prize for the best essay on the life and work of Peter Akers, pioneer Methodist clergyman and educator. A number of papers were submitted in due course and carefully considered by a committee appointed for that purpose. The essay of Mr. T. Walter Johnson of Chicago was adjudged the best, and will be published in an early number of the *Journal*.

CONTRIBUTORS

Clara Martin Baker is head of the circulation department of the Decatur Public Library. . . . Harvey Wish is a member of the Department of History at DePaul University. He has done extensive research on the life of John Peter Altgeld. . . . Frank E. Stevens is a charter member and vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society. Many of his writings have appeared in the Society's publications. . . . John D. Barnhart is a member of the faculty in the Department of History at Louisiana State University. . . . C. C. Carter, the author of the last article in this issue of the *Journal*, is a lawyer in Bluffs, Illinois.

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PETER AKERS: METHODIST CIRCUIT RIDER AND EDUCATOR (1790-1886)*

BY T. WALTER JOHNSON

ONE of the decisive factors in American history was the movement of people to an ever-expanding frontier. People and institutions, uprooted from older sections, were faced with a reversion to a more primitive form of society as they pushed out into the newer areas. This constant state of change was to transform inherited institutions and ideas into a peculiarly American pattern. As Frederick Jackson Turner has written:

In the period of the Revolution, the "men of the Western Waters" or "men of the Western World," as they called themselves, had forced their way into the Ohio and Tennessee valleys through the passes of the Allegheny Mountains, and in the years that followed they steadily increased their numbers and their power. Thus, the Mississippi Valley of 1830 became the home of forest pioneers. These men, shut off by the mountains from the coast, were the first Americans to break decisively with the Europeans, and to a large extent with the tidewater people.¹

The pioneer gave tone to the new society. He developed an individualism, and with it a sense of equality and self-reliance. Along with these characteristics went an antagonism to the restraints of government:

His own gun defended him. Population was sparse and there

*In the December, 1938 *Journal*, announcement of an award of \$50 for the best essay on the life and work of Peter Akers was made. This article was the prize-winning essay in that contest.

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States 1830-1850* (New York, 1935), 19.

was no multitude of jostling interests, such as accompanied dense settlement and required a complicated system of government. There were no intricate business relations to need the intervention of the law. Society itself seemed to have dissolved into its individual atoms, at the same time that tradition, precedent—in a word, the past—lost its power by this migration into the new world beyond the mountains.²

In the settlement of the trans-Allegheny West, the stock from the upland South was to play an important role. These upland southerners moved into Kentucky and Tennessee and from there spread out into the lower Middle West and the Gulf Basin of the Lower South. Southern Indiana and southern Illinois together with Missouri, Arkansas, and the northern parts of Mississippi and Alabama, were but emanations from Kentucky and Tennessee.³ These pioneers who traced their ancestry to families of the upland South were different from the tidewater southerners. Of Scotch-Irish, German, and English stock, the upland southerners found it difficult to adjust their democratic, self-sufficing farm life to the advance of cotton culture and slavery into their lands. The urge for new countries carried this stock on to the frontier.⁴

Peter Akers is an excellent example of the movement of the upland southerner to the frontier. From the Piedmont of Virginia he migrated to Kentucky, and after a stay of approximately fifteen years, moved on to Illinois. Information as to Akers' early life in Virginia is very sparse. He was born at Lynchburg, Campbell County, on September 1, 1790. His parents, John and Agnes

² Turner, *United States 1830-1850*, 20.

³ "Native Kentuckians in the North Central States, in 1850, were over 212,000—equal to nearly 22 per cent of the population resident in Kentucky at the time. Of Virginia birth, there were 204,000, which equals over 14 per cent of her population in 1850." Turner, *United States 1830-1850*, 261n.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 261.

Akers, were members of the Presbyterian Church and their children were brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."⁵ The Akers children were baptized in infancy, and their father conducted family worship morning and evening. He taught his children the Shorter Catechism, and in every way seems to have created a Christian atmosphere for them. John Akers was, apparently, a leading member of the local congregation and on the Sabbath he led the members in singing. He died when Peter was thirteen, and it is recorded that he exhorted Peter to lead a virtuous life.⁶

Peter Akers' early education would seem to have been typical of the educational possibilities for a youth in a rural community in America of the early nineteenth century. He had a common school and academy training, but not a collegiate education. Although his education consisted of a classical discipline, it is doubtful whether his scholarship in Latin and Greek ever amounted to a great deal.⁷ At the age of sixteen Peter began to teach school. As was so often the case, school teaching was but a step in the process of becoming a lawyer, and Akers determined to move to Kentucky where the opportunities for a young lawyer would be more promising.⁸

At Mount Sterling, Kentucky, probably due to the lack of resources, Akers was persuaded to take charge of a school under state control. After six months more

⁵ *Journal and Records of the Sixty-third Session of the Illinois Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1886* (Jacksonville, 1886), 53.

⁶ *Journal of the Illinois Conference, 1886*, 53.

⁷ William Henry Milburn, *Peter Akers* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1891), 5. Reprint from the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, Vol. X (April, 1891).

⁸ *Ibid.*; *Journal of the Illinois Conference, 1886*, 53. Akers went to Kentucky at the age of twenty-five (1815). His years from sixteen to twenty-five were spent in teaching school at various places and in doing further study at Hycot Academy and New London Academy. This information comes from manuscript material in the possession of Mrs. E. W. Akers, Pasadena Park, St. Louis, Missouri.

of school teaching, he moved on to Flemingsburg and entered the law office of Major W. P. Fleming. In 1817 he was admitted to the bar and accepted a partnership with Major Fleming. It was not long before he took rank with the most gifted men in the state, and he became a state's attorney.⁹ Two years after his admittance to the bar, he assumed the additional duty of publishing a local Whig newspaper, *The Star*. Unfortunately, little is known of Akers' activities as a publisher.¹⁰

Although Peter Akers was reared in a family in which religious life and church attendance were emphasized, like so many others on the frontier, he discarded this early training. In an area where the forms of conventional society were weak, Akers became a free thinker.¹¹ His marriage to Eliza Faris of Flemingsburg did not change his attitude since she, too, was adverse to religion. Peter Akers has left an interesting account of his first wife, in which he recorded the following incident to demonstrate her irreligious attitude:

On the 12th day of March, 1818, she and I were married. I had lately commenced the practice of the law; and she entertained the flattering, but delusive expectation of soon becoming rich and independent. From a circumstance that occurred the following summer, it is evident she had, at that time, very little notion of leading a religious life. I had been for some little time in Floyd County, on professional business, and during my absence had attended a camp meeting. A false report reached home before I did, that I had obtained religion. The news overwhelmed her mind; and she seemed like one that had lost all prospects of happiness. She said, to think

⁹ See A. H. Redford, *The History of Methodism in Kentucky* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1870), III: 108. "Peter Akers was a young man of extraordinary promise. Previous to his conversion, he had studied law, and entering upon the practice of his profession, at an early age he took rank with the most gifted young men in the State."

¹⁰ *Journal of the Illinois Conference, 1886*, 53.

¹¹ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 5.

of my getting religion, seemed like seeing me go to my grave—It blasted all her hopes.¹²

Akers attributed his wife's irreligious attitude to the influence of three young ladies who laughed at her when they discovered her praying, following the death of a sister. In Akers' words describing this incident one can, perhaps, discern something of the prevalent attitude of pioneer people toward religion.

[They] persuaded her, that, if she went on to be religious, nobody would think respectfully of her—that she would lose all the pleasure and happiness she might otherwise enjoy. Being only twelve years of age, she got alarmed at their evil suggestions, shunned every appearance of seriousness, mingled much with gay company, and thus put an end to her serious impressions for that time.

Mrs. Akers, on the death of her first son shortly after birth, once again had serious thoughts about religion. She began to pray in secret, and on the birth of her second son entreated her husband to seek God with her. Soon after the birth of this son, Mrs. Akers was stricken with consumption, and her thoughts turned more and more to religion. Akers wrote:

While conversing with me on the subject, she raised both hands in a contemplative mood, and looking stedfastly at me, while she let them fall gradually said, "*O! Mr. Akers, I feel as if I were dying!*"—She wept; and said we ought by all means to try and get religion. Thinking I might probably induce her to excuse me in the matter, I told her to go on, and seek religion without me—that if I were to obtain religion, she might calculate on my preaching the Gospel—that we would then live a very poor life, and that she would have to submit to many losses and privations in future. Said she, "*I am willing to live a poor and destitute life in this world for the sake of getting to heaven—riches will never do us no good when we come to die.*"

¹² Peter Akers, "Sketch of the Life and Death of Mrs. Akers," *Methodist Magazine*, Vol. IV (1821), 459-65.

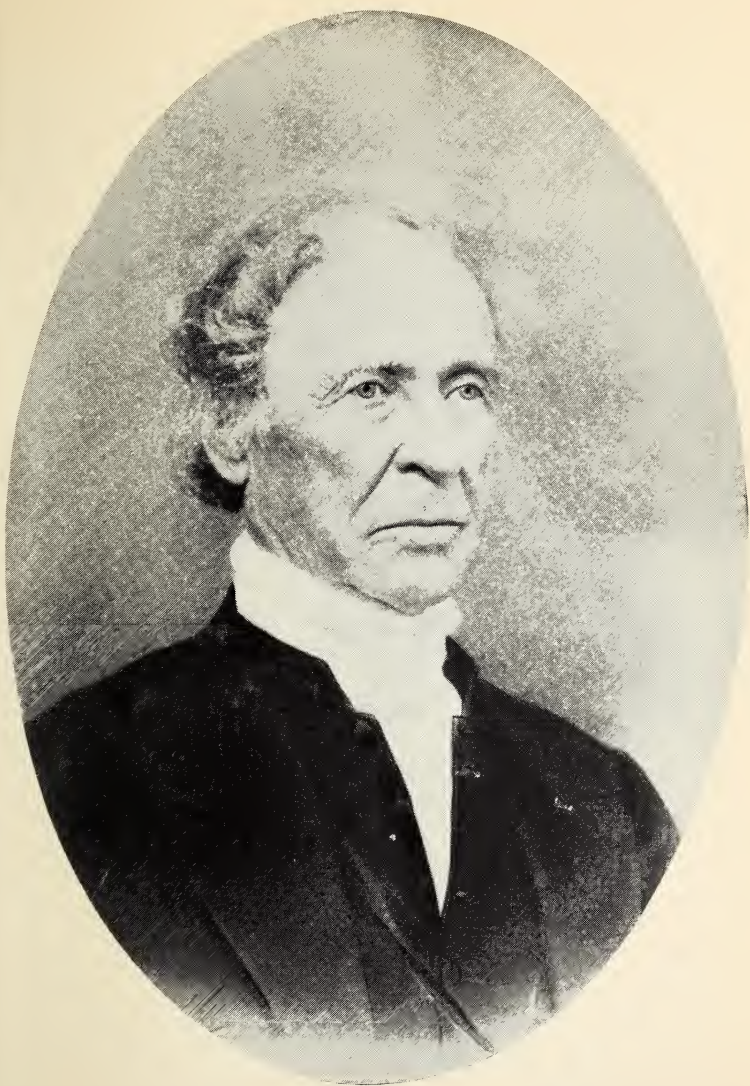
The thoughts of his wife concerning religion, during the period of her sickness, were of paramount importance in changing Peter Akers' apathy toward the church. When Mrs. Akers asked Dr. Houston, a frontier doctor and a Methodist minister, to pray for her, Akers was visibly affected. Even though Mrs. Akers, not long after this event, was able to get up from her bed, she continued to pray diligently. "Whether I shall live long or die shortly," she told her husband, "I am determined to spend my time in the service of God." He, by this time, had also decided to spend the rest of his days in God's service. Therefore, on March 21, 1821, they held their first family prayer, and, four days later, they were admitted to Dr. Houston's church.

As death from consumption rapidly approached, the emotional experience of Mrs. Akers in the last few days of her life left an indelible imprint on her husband. Her troubled soul and agitated mind disappeared. This she said was the result of Jesus' having come and spoken to her. The experience of feeling Jesus near at hand and the peace and quiet that took possession of her mind demonstrated to her husband the need of mankind for religion.

A month after his wife's death Akers received assurance of his conversion, while attending a class and prayer meeting. On July 27, 1821, under a license from the minister, he preached his first sermon on the text "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." The local preachers' conference licensed him to preach and recommended him to the Kentucky Conference. The following year he was appointed to the Limestone circuit, and thus his long career as a circuit rider was inaugurated.¹³

One of the reasons for the early success of Metho-

¹³ *Journal of the Illinois Conference, 1886, 54.*



PETER AKERS

dism in the trans-Appalachian region was its genius as an itinerant movement, keeping constantly in touch with the expanding settlements.¹⁴ The circuit rider stopped at each pioneer's cabin to inquire whether there were any Methodists in the area. Then he looked for a place to hold services, announced his preaching, and went to work organizing a class. He left a class leader to look after every member; to inquire as to his spiritual welfare; to hold class meetings; and to receive money for the church. This lay leadership also aided the Methodist Church to adapt itself to new territory.¹⁵ The circuit rider preached at least once every day, except on Monday, making his appointment in advance in order that the people would be ready for him. The great occasions were the quarterly meetings where the sacrament was administered and love feasts were held. They began on Friday evening or Saturday morning and lasted until Monday morning. People came from miles around to participate in these meetings.¹⁶

The pioneer Methodist preacher was a strong exponent of conversion, and he insisted on a change of heart, which meant right relationship with God and the proper kind of living. This type of exhortation was needed, for as McMaster has written:

Travelers from the East were shocked at the balls, the drinking, the fighting, and the utter disregard paid to the Sabbath day. Good people were terrified at the drunkenness, the vice, the gambling, the brutal fights, the gouging out of eyes, the needless duels on every hand.¹⁷

¹⁴ William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (New York, 1930), 316-17.

¹⁵ William Warren Sweet, *Rise of Methodism in the West* (New York, 1920), 48.

¹⁶ Sweet, *Methodism in the West*, 42.

¹⁷ John Bach McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York, 1904), II: 152, 578.

In the face of such conditions the Methodist Church proclaimed an unbending morality. The circuit rider waged war on all vice, often calling out names in meetings and denouncing sinners to their faces.¹⁸

The Methodist circuit rider not only was a powerful moral force on the frontier, but he was of significance culturally as well. Every circuit rider was an agent for the Methodist Book Concern, and during a lifetime one preacher might sell thousands of dollars worth of books.¹⁹ Peter Cartwright felt that this phase of his activity was of great importance:

It has often been a question that I shall never be able to answer on earth, whether I have done the most good by preaching or distributing religious books. If we as a Church had been blessed with a flourishing Book Concern such as we now have, and our preachers had scattered books broad-cast over these western wilds, or any other wilds, it would be impossible to tell the vast amount of good that would have been done. And, indeed, this is one of the great secrets of the success of our early Methodist preachers.²⁰

Riding the circuit in Kentucky, during the decade of the 1820's, was no easy task. These were militant days in the development of religion within the borders of this state. The Calvinists were waging a relentless war on Methodism, and the *Presbyterian Advocate* of Lexington led the assault. Alexander Campbell's movement was rapidly winning adherents, and Campbell was pugnacious in his attacks. With great ability the Methodists answered these charges, and nearly doubled their membership.²¹ The circuit rider, perhaps, was most re-

¹⁸ Sweet, *Methodism in the West*, 62.

¹⁹ Peter Cartwright sold \$10,000 worth of books. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, edited by W. P. Strickland (Cincinnati, 1856), 522.

²⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 279.

²¹ W. E. Arnold, *A History of Methodism in Kentucky* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1936), II: 132; Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, III: 553. In 1820 there were 55 preachers, 14,035 white members, and 1,636 colored members. In 1830 there were 113 preachers, 22,308 white members, and 4,679 colored members.

sponsible for this increase as the testimony of the Reverend John Huber, of the Presbyterian Church, reveals:

I was traveling through the mountains of Kentucky, in Laurel, Clay, and Perry Counties, distributing tracts, and preaching to the people. I found, however, that in every place the Methodist missionary had preceded me. I at length became ambitious to find a family whose cabin had not been entered by a Methodist preacher. In several days I travelled from settlement to settlement, on my errand of good, but into every hovel I entered, I learned that the Methodist missionary had been there before me.²²

For ten years Peter Akers rode the circuit in the Kentucky Conference with marked success.

His diligence in study as well as faithfulness in the fulfillment of all his duties—together with his rare powers of speech in exposition and argument, soon brought him to the front, even in that conference, famed in those days for its array of distinguished men.²³

During his second year he rode the Kanawha circuit, extending into Western Virginia, and while on tour visited his mother. It was reported that his mother was greatly affected by his preaching. His older brother asked the mother if she wouldn't prefer that Peter be a Presbyterian, and she replied, "I hope he has more stability than to be carried about with every wind of doctrine."²⁴

In 1824, while on the Fleming circuit, Akers achieved entire sanctification under the guidance of Andrew Monroe, his presiding elder. Monroe conducted a two-day meeting for this purpose, and Akers was supposed to be so stirred that he could not utter a word to show the success of the sermon. Overwhelmed with religious exaltation he returned to his lodging and threw him-

²² Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, III: 530.

²³ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 5.

²⁴ *Journal of the Illinois Conference*, 1886, 54.

self upon his bed. Later, when Andrew Monroe asked him if he had been sanctified, Akers claimed that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost had come to him and filled his soul with love.²⁵ From this time on a marked change was reported in his preaching, and many revivals occurred under his ministry.²⁶

Two of his years in the Kentucky Conference were spent as the agent for Augusta College, the first Methodist institution of higher learning beyond the mountains.²⁷ As a preacher and agent for the college, Akers was apparently very successful. Redford, writing in 1870, recorded:

He is, at this distant period, remembered in Kentucky with affectionate regard. His labors as a minister of Christ, while a member of the Kentucky Conference, were distinguished by an uncompromising devotion to the cause he had espoused. In the pulpit he was exceedingly popular, and defended the doctrines and the polity of the Church with an ability that claimed the respect, and commanded the confidence, of his audiences; and success crowned his labors.²⁸

By 1832 a decided tide of emigration had set in to the states of Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana and many of the local churches were practically decimated. Actual evidence as to the reasons motivating Akers' departure in this year are lacking, but it would seem to have been in part a natural move to keep abreast of the church

²⁵ The account in the *Journal of the Illinois Conference*, 1886, 54, states that the event was in 1823, but Akers was not on the Fleming circuit until the following year. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1773-1886*, I: 423. Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 6, has a different version: "One day while reading a hymn, after his presiding elder, Andrew Monroe, had preached a sermon of rare heart-searching force, he told me there came upon him such a rush of power like the sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind that filled all the house where the disciples were sitting, and whether he were in the body or out of the body, he knew not. From that day forth to the end of life his consecration to the Lord and His work was absolute."

²⁶ *Journal of the Illinois Conference*, 1886, 54.

²⁷ *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church*, I: 548; II: 129.

²⁸ Redford, *Methodism in Kentucky*, III: 110.

members who were seeking greater opportunities in the West, and in part due to Akers' dislike for slavery.²⁹

Illinois was in a state of ferment during the years Peter Akers served the Methodist Church. It was the center of a whirlpool of ideas. Women's rights societies, peace societies, and anti-slavery societies flourished. Elijah Lovejoy was bitterly denouncing drinking, vice, dancing, and slavery until he was killed by a mob in 1837. The Mormons at Nauvoo were adding their bit to stir up the political and religious life of the frontier state. In 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother perished at the hands of a mob, and in the following year there was a series of riots to force the Mormons out of Illinois.³⁰

Illinois was a typical frontier state with its constantly changing forces and milieu:

Change and evolution sound the keynote of frontier Illinois. For the first thirty years of statehood its politicians sprang up, flourished, changed sides, and left the state to seek new careers with a rapidity that is the despair of the chronicler. Pioneers passed over its territory in waves with varying manners, ideals, and habits of life. Civilization first of simple, then of more complex, gradations sprang up with amazing rapidity behind and among the frontiersmen. The half savage frontiersman and the college-bred lawyer, the woman of the backwoods and the fine lady rubbed elbows in the little village where the frame house was rapidly replacing the log cabin. Into communities without religion came numerous denominations striving to supply the lack of spiritual life.³¹

It was in this rapidly evolving society that Peter Akers was to spend the great years of his life either riding the circuit or serving as an educator. In the span of his lifetime Akers was to see Illinois change from a frontier rural society to an industrial urban world.

²⁹ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 7.

³⁰ Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State 1818-1848* (*The Centennial History of Illinois*, II, Springfield, 1918), 345, 364, 366, 372.

³¹ Pease, *Frontier State*, 1-2.

The Methodist Church became the leading religious force in the state and its development was rapid. The first class meeting had been established in 1793, and in 1803 the first circuit rider was appointed to serve the new region.³² The phenomenal increase of the Methodist denomination can once more largely be attributed to the circuit riders' endeavors. Peter Cartwright has left us the following description of the itinerant minister's activities in Illinois:

A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or Biblical institute, hunted up a hardy pony of a horse, and some traveling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely, Bible, Hymn-Book, and Discipline, he started, and with a text that never wore out nor grew stale, he cried, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world!" In this way he went through storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain; climbed hills and mountains, traversed valleys, plunged through swamps, swam swollen streams, lay out all night, wet, weary, and hungry, held his horse by the bridle all night, or tied him to a limb, slept with his saddle blanket for a bed, his saddle or saddle-bags for his pillow, and his old big coat or blanket, if he had any, for a covering. Often he slept in dirty cabins, on earthen floors, before the fire; ate roasting ears for bread, drank butter-milk for coffee, or sage tea for imperial; took, with a hearty zest, deer or bear meat, or wild turkey, for breakfast, dinner, and supper, if he could get it. His text was always ready, "Behold the Lamb of God," etc. This was old fashioned Methodist preacher fare and fortune.³³

Peter Akers' first year in the Illinois Conference established his right to be rated with the best men in prairie land.³⁴ He had transferred too late to obtain an appointment, but utilized the year to do work as an

³² James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois* (Cincinnati, 1883), 29, 34; in 1830 there were about 6,000 members in Illinois, in 1840, about 30,000, in 1848, 40,000 and in 1860 nearly 100,000 church members. Pease, *Frontier State*, 414-15; Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War* (*The Centennial History of Illinois*, III, Chicago, 1919), 246.

³³ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 243.

³⁴ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 7; *Journal of the Illinois Conference*, 1886, 55.

evangelist. It was reported that his work won hundreds to the service of God, and that his "skill in exposing sophistry and his denunciation of sin in all its forms have perhaps never been equaled in this region." Akers was a powerful preacher. His sermons were not limited by any artificial restrictions. While in the Kentucky Conference, he had learned the evil of short sermons. Some of the official members of the Lexington Church had demanded that his sermons be shorter. For some time he yielded to their wish, but later became convinced that he was making a mistake.

[Deciding] that his own spirit was growing lean and his ministry barren, he resolved to throw away the muzzle and to let his inspiration have way, and on the first Sunday thereafter took for his subject Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, and as he preached it seemed as if the breath from the four winds came and blew upon the congregation, and there was a great noise: Some screamed, some shouted, others fell prostrate on the floor, and there was such a shaking of the dry bones as Lexington had never witnessed before, and the preacher's time limit was removed.³⁵

Akers' preaching, according to the records that have been preserved, contained not only a deep emotional appeal, but it had an intellectual content as well. His knowledge of the Bible and his power to use it were unexampled. The Bible, with its thoughts, images, realities, and words, became a part of him.³⁶ William Milburn, one of Akers' protégés, wrote of his preaching:

You wondered how his massive thoughts, his lofty line of reasoning, mighty unfoldings of the deep things of the Holy Scriptures (for almost every sermon was an apocalypse, an uncovering of the

³⁵ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 6; see also *Journal of the Illinois Conference*, 1886, 54.

³⁶ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 10-11. W. F. Short, "Early Religious Methods and Leaders in Illinois," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1902, (Springfield, 1902), 59 states: "Any account of the early religious leaders in Illinois would be incomplete if the name of Peter Akers was omitted. As an able preacher and Biblical scholar he stands alone among all the Methodist preachers in the Mississippi valley."

mysteries), could hold as with a spell the plain, unlearned people of the border. If he had been merely an intellectual preacher, his failure would have been signal: there could have been no bond of sympathy between him and his hearers. His words must have been as a blare, signifying nothing; his ideas "garish gaudery," and the peoples' backs would have been turned upon him. But in him the red, yellow, and blue, the heat, light, and chemical rays were so combined that you had the harmony of the prism down to the violet; there was radiance, warmth, use, life. The beat of his heart propagated itself in the breasts of those that heard; they saw with his eyes, heard with his ears, his soul became a part of theirs; they were lifted to his plane; his patrimony in God, for the time at least, became their possession. Often it seemed as if he were transfigured; with shining face he translated the things unutterable into the speech of common life, and the simplest felt, believed, and knew; like the Master's, his words were spirit and life, and, great as he was, the common people heard him gladly, forgot their meat and drink, and said: "It is good to be here!"³⁷

It is doubtful if Peter Akers ever wrote out a sermon. He often preached from the same text, but never repeated a sermon.³⁸ His sermons and talks were often interspersed with humor and light subjects. The debt which many of the younger circuit riders owed to Akers is revealed, somewhat, in the following passage:

It was a priceless boon to sit at the feet of such men as Jonathan Stamper and Peter Akers and hear them discourse the livelong day, and sometimes far into the night, upon the deepest problems which concern us, and then relieve the mental strain by gleams of humor and narrations picturesque or romantic. They were the two greatest preachers of the conference and were peers of the foremost men in the Methodist Church.³⁹

³⁷ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 9. Milburn, in the *Central Christian Advocate*, June 30, 1897, also stated: "His face expressed seriousness, gravity, indeed some thought sternness, for his great and devout spirit seemed often withdrawn from it, gazing with rapt vision upon Him who dwelleth between the cherubim; but in conversation, say rather monologue, for his talk in private as well as public seemed bringing truth from above, his features glowed and his eyes shone, and you almost caught a glimpse of the glory within the veil. His sermons were at times transcendent, and preacher and hearers hardly knew whether they were in or out of the body."

³⁸ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 10. "I have often heard him preach from the same text, but never repeat a sermon: the gold was the same, and his store of it seemed exhaustless, but every issue of the mint had a coinage of its own."

³⁹ *Central Christian Advocate*, June 30, 1897.

Peter Cartwright, Akers' contemporary in the Illinois Conference, also paid his respects to Akers' capable preaching:

I hastened to Winchester, where the brethren had rallied, and were engaged in a glorious revival of religion. They had sent off for brother Akers, who had been with them several days, battling successfully for the cause of true religion, and was made the honored instrument of much good to many souls. . . . The Campbellite preachers, and many of their members, had rushed into our meeting, and tried to hinder or stop the blessed work by drawing our people into foolish controversy. Brother Akers had used the artillery of truth very successfully against this false form of religion.⁴⁰

When Bishop Ames, traveling as western secretary of the Missionary Society, heard Peter Akers preach he said, "It reminds me of Ajax throwing with ease great rocks which no other man could lift."⁴¹

Peter Akers' mode of preaching had great effect on his listeners. Many revivals and conversions are credited to his efforts. His emotional appeals frequently moved the congregation deeply, as the following passage demonstrates:

An impressionable and imaginative preacher of the early type had listened to one of his sermons on "The devil goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," and at the close was called on to pray. He was so profoundly affected that as he knelt his body was bowed as if under the awful sense of danger so that his head almost touched the floor, and he began in a tone low and tremulous with emotion: "O Lord, the devil as a roaring lion is in the neighborhood, in our houses, in the Church, in our hearts; and if thou come not to our help, we shall all be devoured. Thou only canst save us; save us now, good Lord; with thy mighty power drive him out." The prayer grew more fervent, the tone firmer, the form of the man was lifted gradually till the head was erect, the hands clasped, tears streaming from his eyes, and at the end his manner was exultant and his voice almost a shout.⁴²

⁴⁰ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 400.

⁴¹ Cited by Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 9.

⁴² Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 12.

The only adverse comment on Peter Akers' preaching occurred when he delivered a sermon to a Massachusetts church, while attending the General Conference at Boston. Peter Cartwright's comment, on the occasion of being invited to speak at one of the Boston churches at this time, affords us an intimate glimpse of the differences between the frontier church and its more sedate brother. Cartwright told the Boston church's preacher:

You need not think that any of us western men are anxious about preaching to you in Boston; your way of worship here is so different from ours in the west, that we are confused. There's your old wooden god, the organ, bellowing up in the gallery, and a few dandified singers lead in singing, and really do it all. The congregation won't sing, and when you pray, they sit down instead of kneeling. We don't worship God in the west by proxy, or substitution.⁴³

From the paucity of material existing today Peter Akers appears to have been a militant anti-slavery preacher. These were the years when Theodore Dwight Weld and the American Anti-Slavery Society were attacking slavery as a sin, and developing a militant crusade against slavery based on the impulse from the religious revivals. We have an account of one camp meeting in which Akers attacked slavery and was supposed to have influenced one of his listeners, Abraham Lincoln, very deeply:

On the Sunday of a camp meeting [1837] held there a number of Springfield people attended the services. Among them was Abraham Lincoln, in company with other attorneys and some state officers. Dr. Peter Akers was the preacher. He was at the time in the zenith of his power, and a profound student of the prophecies of the Old Testament. In his discourse he dwelt upon prophecy and its fulfillment. He seemed to be divinely led out, even beyond himself. He spoke of the prophecy as related to this country, and of the great

⁴³ Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 476.

sin of human slavery; predicted its overthrow in strife and blood; said the people then living would see it; that perhaps God's agent to accomplish the work was then upon the camp ground! The discourse produced a profound impression. On the way back to the city Mr. Lincoln was unusually quiet. He seemed absorbed in thought. His friends, noticing it, asked him the cause. He said "I was thinking of Dr. Akers' sermon. And do you know that all the time he was describing the overthrow of slavery in war and blood, it seemed to me that somehow or other, I was inseparably mixed up with it all, and so strong and deep was the impression, and so strange, that I cannot shake it off. I do not understand why it should be so."⁴⁴

According to W. C. Walton, the historian of McKendree College, the evil of slavery was one of Dr. Akers' favorite themes. While preaching in the college chapel in 1856 he was credited with the following prophecy:

After discussing the subject of slavery at some length he approached the pulpit stand with a gravity which hushed the audience to a breathless stillness, placed his long fore finger upon the page of the open Bible, and with all the solemnity of a Jeremiah, said "I cannot give you the exact date but in the latter part of 1860 or the early part of 1861 there will arise in this nation the greatest internecine war known to the history of the world. It will be brother against brother, family against family, and thousands of hearth stones will be made desolate. But thru this bloody baptism we must pass for the deliverance of the slave from bondage."⁴⁵

In addition to these two examples there are two others which would seem to indicate that Akers was gifted with prophecy. On July 18, 1878 he wrote:

⁴⁴ W. N. M'Elroy, writing in the *Central Christian Advocate*, Sept. 9, 1896. This story is repeated in Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1900), I: 237-38, and W. C. Walton, *Centennial History of McKendree College* (Lebanon, Illinois, 1928), 102. Evidence necessary to verify the story is lacking. Paul M. Angle, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, in a letter to the writer on January 13, 1939, stated: "I have come across this story in various forms but never in one that seemed to be very well authenticated. On the face of it, it seems very improbable, at least in the exact form in which you have related it."

⁴⁵ Walton, *McKendree College*, 102. Professor Walton, in a letter to the writer on December 19, 1938, stated: "The stories about Dr. Akers to which you refer were pub-

I understand from what is recorded in history, and in the Book of Daniel and in the Book of Revelations, and what is now taking place over this world, that the millenium will begin about the close of our vulgar A.D. 1941. This date will prove to be "at the end of the days" which were to precede the Millenium.

This belief in pre-millennialism was part of the intellectual heritage of a great many preachers during these years of American history.

His other important prophecy dealt with the day of his death:

Many years before he died he had a dream or vision, in which he saw written in characters of light across the sky, "The Lord will come on Sunday morning!" He interpreted it to mean that he should die on Sunday morning, and from it predicted that as the people were gathering for worship in their temples below, he would be gathered to the worship of the temple above. He was taken violently ill early in the week, and the doctors said he could last but 2 or 3 days at most. His son, Rev. Joshua Soule Akers, then residing in Dakota, was summoned. He started immediately and remembering his father's prophecy felt assured that if he should reach Jacksonville before Sunday he would find him alive. He arrived early on Sunday morning and hastening to his bedside found him sinking fast. About 9 o'clock the doctor came and said "He is almost gone." Joshua said as he took out his watch, "Doctor, he has an hour yet. Father always said he would die as the people were going to church." He passed away between the ringing of the bells.⁴⁶

Peter Akers, in addition to his important activities as a circuit rider, was a leading figure in the early edu-

lished in the *Central Christian Advocate* in an article written by Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, who was then president of McKendree College—I can only say it was between the years 1896 and 1906. The article refers to a reminiscent discussion between Dr. Chamberlin and Mr. John S. Nicholson of Beardstown, who were fellow-students in McKendree College in 1856, and both heard Dr. Akers preach the sermon in the chapel and agreed that it was in 1856 and their memories agreed as to the matter of the prophecies which Dr. Akers made." Unfortunately, the files of the *Central Christian Advocate* available to me were incomplete and I could not locate the exact issue in which the story appeared. As to the prophecy, it would seem plausible that Dr. Chamberlin and Mr. Nicholson allowed future events to color their reminiscences. Exact material to establish the date of the prophecy as falling in the years 1860-1861 is lacking.

⁴⁶ Both stories are taken from manuscript material in the possession of Mrs. E. W. Akers.

cational history of Illinois. Methodism has popularly been thought of as an evangelical, soul-saving movement. There is little doubt that its emphasis on a heartfelt religion, its warmth of fellowship, and its stress on a God of mercy, and its belief in general atonement attracted the attention of many indifferent and neglected people. It would be unfair, however, to refer to the camp meetings and the revivals as typical, and fail to point out the work it accomplished in founding institutions of learning. Peter Cartwright, W. D. R. Trotter, and Peter Akers were the educational leaders of the Illinois Conference. Their names are outstanding in the records of Methodist educational institutions. They served almost continuously on the Conference Committee on Education. In 1836 this Committee recommended the establishment of a grammar school in each circuit, and the official report was written by Peter Akers.⁴⁷ A few years later Akers tried to persuade the Illinois Conference to solicit funds to send to the Book Concern at Cincinnati for the publication of books and pamphlets in German in order to win over the great influx of German immigrants into the Middle West.⁴⁸

Peter Akers served as President of McKendree College in 1833-1835, 1845-1846, and 1852-1857. In 1835 President Akers obtained a charter from the state for the College. The great achievement of his administration was the building of a new chapel for McKendree. In 1839 McKendree granted Akers the degree of Doctor of Divinity, the first one granted by the College.⁴⁹ It was during these years that Akers was able to compose

⁴⁷ Edgar Eugene Atherton, "The Contribution of Methodism to Education in Illinois, to 1855" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1937), 1, 70, 93-95.

⁴⁸ *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. XII (Oct. 24, 1845).

⁴⁹ Walton, *McKendree College*, 101, 131, 165, 166.

a book on Biblical chronology. His introduction to the book shows us something of the difficulty involved in writing a scholarly work in the early days of Illinois:

The work itself was commenced and prosecuted to its present state in very embarrassing circumstances. Books of reference were remarkably scarce and unsatisfactory. Investigations, however difficult, had often to be made, mentally, from a few recollections, either in actual travel from place to place, or in the dark and silent bedroom, when anxiety precluded needful sleep, or amid necessary hindrances in the constant service of the Church. The author had no previous plan, nor indeed, any leader to consult on some of the most interesting topics of inquiry. . . .

Continual subjection to a double amount of labor superinduced such an affliction as occasioned a delay of the work, and also a termination of it somewhat short of what was desirable.⁵⁰

It was during his first term as President of McKendree that Akers demonstrated the clergyman's opposition to circuses, plays, and all entertainment of the light variety. He asked the Board of Trustees to enforce morality against several boys absent from class. Akers wrote:

On making the necessary inquiry it was ascertained that they [the boys] were all in town attending the *circus*. It was also ascertained on suitable inquiry, that with the exception of two or three young men and one small boy, they all had *permission* of their parents to go to the *circus*! Of these parents nearly all are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and some of them are members of your Board of Managers. . . .

The writer of this unvarnished communication does not think it necessary to add a single argument in proof of the diabolical nature and grossly corrupting tendency of the circus, and of all similar sports. They are the every day and Sunday School of the Devil, and his travelling missionaries.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Peter Akers, *Introduction to Biblical Chronology* (Cincinnati, 1855), 5. There is a review of this book in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXXVIII or 4th S. Vol. VIII (1856), 448-68.

⁵¹ Cited by Walton, *McKendree College*, 121.

In 1835 Akers resigned from the presidency of McKendree, and suggested to the Conference the establishment of a school of elementary and seminary rank. The instruction was to be in Mathematics, Latin, and Greek, and his plan included a gift of land to afford the students an opportunity to support themselves by manual labor. The Conference accepted the idea and Akers was made Superintendent of the Ebenezer Manual Labor School. The school attracted many young men intending to study law, because of Akers' experience as a lawyer. The school also became widely known as a training school for missionaries to the Indians. The school existed for seven years, although the records of the Methodist Church list Akers' tenure as Superintendent as lasting only from 1836 to 1838.

A tribute to Peter Akers' ability as an educator can be seen in the offer to him of the presidency of Illinois Wesleyan, when that institution was being projected in 1854. He refused the position, however, unless sufficient endowment was raised, and the amount he stipulated was not secured.⁵² It is an interesting speculation as to the reason why Akers resigned his presidency at McKendree in 1857 and went back to the duties of a circuit rider. Milburn considered it was due to the fact that "academic life suited him no better than that on the tripod. His call was to preach the unsearchable riches, not to teach in collegiate halls."⁵³

Peter Akers was intensely human.

His demeanour was for the most part grave, though never stern or repelling, and yet there was in him both a sense and vein of humor, and his laughter was hearty and contagious, shaking his

⁵² Atherton, "Methodism in Illinois," 74-76, 86; *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church*, II: 362, 427, 504.

⁵³ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 7.

great form with peal upon peal, and you shared his mirth with the keener delight because it seemed to bring him nearer to our human level.⁵⁴

William H. Milburn has left us an interesting anecdote to demonstrate Akers' human side:

In our hand to hand intercourse with the pioneer settlers of the West, as we stopped at their lowly cabins we now and then had a bit of fun. This may stand as a specimen: One day, after our dinner of hog and hominy, cornbread, and seedtick coffee, the good woman of the house, a venerable dame, picked up two long-stemmed pipes from a corner of the huge fireplace and, proceeding to fill them, said "Brother Akers, have a pipe with me." "Thank you, sister," he answered, "I don't serve the devil that way." She replied, "Some people is powerful weak, and the devil seems to get away with them mighty easy," lighted her pipe and poured forth a volume of smoke while we shook with laughter at her retort.

We are also indebted to Milburn for a description of Akers in his later life:

His height was not far from six feet, perhaps a little over; in the pulpit he looked seven, for his power made him grow upon the eye to enormous size. His frame was large, bony, muscular, with no undue flesh; arms of unusual length. His head was very large, even for a man of his size, covered with wavy hair growing somewhat thin. The forehead was broad and high. The eyes usually had a far away look, except when he was preaching; then they burned with an intense luster or were filled with tears. His features were not handsome, but massive and noble, as was everything about him, both in appearance and manner, redeeming what would otherwise have been an awkward form and slouching gait, inducing him with princely dignity. A man of more royal air and carriage, both in public and in private, could nowhere be seen. The atmosphere which always enveloped him seemed more ethereal than one often encounters,

⁵⁴ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 3-4, 12-13. There is a picture of Dr. Akers, in Walton, *McKendree College*, 101. The writer has thought it inadvisable to mention the Reverend Mr. Akers' family in the text. He was married three times. The first marriage was to Eliza S. Faris in 1818; she died in 1821. He married Elizabeth Reid of Carlisle, Kentucky in 1825, and she died in 1845. His third marriage was to Anna Goheen of Lebanon, Illinois in 1846 and this wife outlived him. There were two children by the first marriage, and eleven by the second. *Journal of the Illinois Conference, 1886*, 55-56; *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. XII (March 13, 1846). For information on Akers' grandchildren and great grandchildren see the *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 17, 1939.

and within the sphere of his presence you had a deep sense of veneration, but the awe was softened by a strange delight, born of high and guileless simplicity. His majesty of mien and spirit would have been oppressive but for the fascination you found in his child-like openness and purity. No other man's invariable sanctity ever affected me as did his through our intimacy of many years.⁵⁵

Any account of Akers' activities in the Methodist Church would be incomplete without a mention of his attendance at eight of the General Conferences, the law-making body of the Church. At the General Conference of 1832, while still a member of the Kentucky Conference, he was appointed to the assistant editorship of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the official organ of the Church published in New York. "After a day's meditation, he declined the honor; for in the pulpit, not with the pen, was he mighty, and he was wise enough to know it."⁵⁶

At the General Conference of 1844, when the slavery issue could no longer be stifled, Peter Akers played a leading role. He favored the censuring of Bishop Andrews for acquiring slaves and voted in favor of suspending the Bishop from office until he had rid himself of the slaves.⁵⁷ When it was seen that the slavery and anti-slavery forces could no longer remain within the Church, a committee of nine was drawn up to provide a plan of separation. Akers was a member of this committee, and the committee formulated a plan whereby the southern branch could withdraw and leave the

⁵⁵ Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 3.

⁵⁶ Milburn, *Peters Akers*, 7. *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Church*, 1832, 416.

⁵⁷ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Church*, 1844, 34, 84. It was at this time in the church's history that the supremacy of the General Conference over the bishops was established. Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 10, claims that Akers wrote the speech that accomplished this. L. L. Hamline, from Ohio, delivered the speech, but the official records of the Conference, as well as Walter C. Palmer, *Life and Letters of Leonidas L. Hamline*, D. D. (New York, 1886) do not verify that statement.

Church without fear of chastisement.⁵⁸ This plan of separation was drawn up in a spirit of Christian kindness and brotherhood. It was not long after the Conference, however, before Akers and the other northern committeemen began to have misgivings as to their course. The reason for this change of mind was the reaction of the local churches against the plan. In Illinois a large majority of the church members voted non-concurrence with the plan. As Peter Cartwright wrote:

Though I stood alone among the delegates, my colleagues, of my own beloved Illinois conference, in my vote against all these revolutionary and divisive measures in the General conference, it afforded me great pleasure to learn that my course in the General conference was approved by an overwhelming majority of the preachers and members of our conference.⁵⁹

In the face of this reaction Akers changed his stand completely and denied that the committee had drawn up a plan of separation or had divided the property of the Church.⁶⁰ The Christian charity of his first action was entirely lost in the bitter partisan dispute which ensued on this point.⁶¹

Dr. Akers' attendance at eight General Conferences, and his work in Kentucky and Illinois as a circuit rider and educator leaves us with the enigma as to why he largely has been neglected in Methodist history. The answer would seem to center around his modesty.

He had not the knack of getting on in the world—acquiring pelf, gaining place and honor which comes from men. He never courted popularity nor sought what is called reputation. He rarely spoke of himself; and when he did, it was in the most modest and guarded way.⁶²

⁵⁸ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1844*, 135-37.

⁵⁹ Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography*, 424.

⁶⁰ Letter from Peter Akers in the *Western Christian Advocate*, Vol. XII (Jan. 23, 1846).

⁶¹ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, 1848*, 73.

⁶² Milburn, *Peter Akers*, 4.

He seldom opened his lips on the conference floor, and when his voice might have been decisive in deliberative assemblies, he was never heard. Many instances have been cited stating that he was the leading preacher in the Illinois Conference, yet today, Peter Cartwright is the name remembered in this Conference. This may be attributed to the fact that Peter Akers wrote only a scholarly study of mere antiquarian interest, whereas Peter Cartwright wrote an autobiographical account of stirring pioneer days.⁶³

⁶³ In Mrs. E. W. Akers' manuscript material there is an interesting comparison of the two men: "Cartwright was the greater organizer, Akers the great preacher. Cartwright was a man of affairs, Akers a man of books. Cartwright had superior force, Akers superior dignity. If Cartwright was a surging Niagara of restless activity and force, Akers was a Mont Blanc towering in moral influence, stately, serene, and grand."

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

A Military Analysis

BY JOSEPH I. LAMBERT

THE Black Hawk War was fought because our government allowed its settlers to encroach upon the land of the Sauk (or Sacs) where they had lived and tilled the soil for over a century. Although the government had always urged the Sauk to move west of the Mississippi since the signing of the treaty of 1804, they had been suffered to remain at their old village on the east bank. Most of the Foxes had always lived on the west side of the river. By the year 1823 squatters were beginning to encroach on the Sauk village. The land having been surveyed in later years, several settlers received legal title to the land occupied by the village in 1830.

Black Hawk's group of the Sauk would not move and began to threaten the settlers. In 1831 the latter fled for their lives and appealed to the Governor of Illinois, John Reynolds. The Governor had little more use for an Indian than had the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson. Regardless of the fairness of the treaty of 1804 they both wanted to move the redskins as far away as possible. The frontiersmen believed that the Indians were merely a nuisance to be got rid of at any cost. Governor Reynolds at once called for 700 mounted volunteers to assemble at Beardstown on the Illinois

River.¹ The response was enthusiastic and in June, 1831 were gathered 1600 jubilant sons of the frontier.

Governor Reynolds had been corresponding with Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines, commander of the Mississippi district, with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, Missouri. Believing the Indian situation to be worse than later events proved it to be, the latter ordered four companies of the First United States Infantry from Fort Crawford, near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, to meet him at Fort Armstrong, near the mouth of the Rock River, now known as Rock Island. He left by steamboat at once with six companies of the Sixth United States Infantry and arrived at Fort Armstrong on June 6.

General Gaines found that most of the Sauk under Keokuk had moved to the western side of the Mississippi River during the previous year. He called a conference at once to persuade the rest under Black Hawk to do likewise. The result of this conference was that more of them crossed, but several hundred still refused to go. With his mild but energetic manner he could no doubt have soon persuaded the others to move after a short time, and so reported to the War Department to that effect.²

The mounted volunteer army reached a point on the Mississippi River, called Rockport, about eight miles below the Sauk village, on June 25, 1831. Here General Gaines had deposited provisions for them and he met them by steamer for a conference on future operations. It was planned to have the volunteer army approach from the south, cross Vandruff's Island, wade the Rock

¹ John A. Wakefield, *History of the War* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), 13.

² Perry A. Armstrong, *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, 1887), 172.

River, and then attack the Sauk village. At the same time the regular infantry would cross from Fort Armstrong and attack from the north.

The following morning the volunteers moved up the river and crossed the slough to Vandruff's Island. In moving across this island the companies became so mixed because of the thick underbrush that they lost all contact with their leaders. They had expected to be attacked by the Indians while crossing the island but none was encountered. Upon reaching the other side they found the water too deep and swift to wade. Scows were finally brought up and the volunteers crossed to the village, charged through it, and found not an Indian. The entire band had decamped the night before to the western side of the river.

Since the volunteers wished to spill blood, General Gaines was criticized at the time for allowing the enemy to get away. He was also accused by some of them of having knowledge of the escape of the Indians.³ The volunteers were determined to vent their rage upon something, so they burned the entire village which had been the home of the Sauk for over one hundred years.

After threatening to pursue the Indians on the west side of the river, General Gaines induced them to assemble for a parley. The result was that another treaty was drawn up and signed in which the Sauk agreed to abandon their old home forever and to settle with the other band under Keokuk on the Iowa River. Thus ended the first attempt of Black Hawk to defy the authority of the United States. The regular troops were sent back to their stations, and the volunteers soon dis-

³ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 112-16; John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 215.



persed to their homes, loud in their protests that they had not been allowed to attack the Indians.

But the incorrigible Black Hawk had grander schemes to reclaim his lost village. During the following winter he sent messengers to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley as far away as the Gulf of Mexico asking them to co-operate in a general uprising against the whites.⁴ Nahpope, his second in command, went to Fort Malden, Canada, and discussed the probability of getting the British to assist. The Prophet, White Cloud, who resided on the Rock River, led him to believe that assistance would also come from the Winnebago, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi.

Black Hawk decided to cross over to the Rock River Valley the following year, plant a crop of corn, and go on the war-path in the fall along with the allies he expected to gather together.⁵ To put this plan in effect he left his new home on the Iowa River in the spring of 1832, moved up the Mississippi River to a point nearly opposite his old village at the mouth of the Rock River, and crossed the Mississippi on April 6. He had with him about five hundred mounted warriors and their families.

On April 10 Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, who had relieved General Gaines in command of the Western Department at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, arrived at Fort Armstrong with six companies of the Sixth United States Infantry. He was on his way to the upper Mississippi to punish some of the Sauks who were reported to have murdered a band of Menominee. Upon hearing the news that Black Hawk's band had crossed the Missis-

⁴ Frank E. Stevens, *The Black Hawk War* (Chicago, 1903), 109; Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 251 ff.

⁵ Reuben G. Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903), 139-40; Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 221.

sippi and gone up the Rock River, Atkinson went to Fort Crawford, near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, for additional troops. He brought back two companies of the First United States Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor.

The General also sent word to Black Hawk telling him to return at once with his band, but the messenger brought back a refusal. Governor Reynolds of Illinois was now called upon by Atkinson for mounted volunteers, since the force of regular infantry was not deemed suitable to cope with the mounted warriors. As there was no regular cavalry in the army, the only alternative was to call out a mounted force of citizen soldiers.

The Governor's request was for 1,000 horsemen but there were actually accepted for service at Beardstown, a total of 1,594. They were organized into four regiments and a scout battalion. In addition there was a group of men who reported without horses; these were formed into a foot battalion. Samuel Whiteside was appointed brigadier general, and the other officers were elected by the troops. Governor Reynolds accompanied the expedition as an observer with the rank of major general.

The volunteers left at once for Fort Armstrong where they arrived on May 7, 1832, and were mustered into the federal service. This march was over nearly the same route as that of the previous year. Following is an extract from the diary of Private O. H. Browning, later United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior:

Thursday, May 3. About twelve o'clock reached Henderson River; not fordable—no boats or canoes. No pioneers had been sent forward to construct bridges. Army crossed in great disorder by felling trees into the river at different places, making thereby a

show of bridges upon which the troops crossed with difficulty and swam their horses—two or three horses drowned. Continued our march to the Yellow Banks in Warren County, which was reached by night, and encamped. Provision scarce. Hogs shot by the soldiers. Supplies brought up Mississippi River by steamboat *William Wallace*. No guard placed at night.⁶

It is difficult to find a justifiable reason for the delay of General Atkinson in starting the pursuit of the Indians other than the barren results he could expect from an infantry force following the mounted braves. Without waiting for the volunteers, he would have had sufficient force to cope with them if he had taken only the regular infantry. It has been said that he was much better at building frontier army posts than at pursuing red horsemen.⁷

The army left Fort Armstrong on May 9, following Black Hawk's trail up the Rock River. The mounted brigade and the wagon train followed along the east bank, while General Atkinson came up the river with the infantry in boats. In the scows were 300 volunteer footmen,⁸ companies of the Sixth United States Infantry, 2 of the Fifth Infantry, and 3 of the First Infantry; in all about 700 dismounted men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor.⁸ It was slow progress for the men in the boats on account of the heavy rains and the difficulty of towing over the shallows.

The mounted volunteers outdistanced the infantry and soon arrived at Prophetstown which was deserted by the frightened Indians. Although these Indians were not among the hostiles, the volunteers burned the village and hurried on up the river, contrary to the orders

⁶ Quoted in Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 118.

⁷ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 307.

⁸ Philip St. G. Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (Philadelphia, 1857), 160; Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, 146; Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 308 ff.

of General Atkinson to wait there for the infantry. A few miles farther up the river they abandoned their baggage and camp equipment on the prairie without reason and rushed on in disorder to Dixon's Ferry where they arrived on May 12, thoroughly demoralized.⁹

There had already reached Dixon's Ferry direct from their home stations, seven companies of mounted volunteers under Majors Stillman and Bailey, a total of 341 men. As they refused to be incorporated into the existing units, they were organized into the Fifth Regiment. These men were especially anxious to try their mettle against the Indians and begged to proceed at once in the effort to locate them. Since they were not yet mustered into the federal service Governor Reynolds issued an order sending them on a scout to Old Man's Creek about thirty miles up Rock River from Dixon's Ferry.¹⁰

After much bickering about which major would command, the Governor finally put Stillman in charge. They departed on May 13, accompanied by several of the most enthusiastic members of the other regiments who wanted to taste blood. A baggage train of six wagons, drawn by oxen, accompanied the battalion. Among other articles they took along two barrels of whisky, not very unusual for that time.

A heavy rain retarded the march on the first day and they camped after making about ten miles.¹¹ After telling stories and singing much of the night, they got a late start next morning. The march was continued for about twenty miles when Old Man's Creek (now Stillman's Run) was reached late in the afternoon. As the ground was swampy on the south side of the creek they crossed

⁹ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 117; Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 309.

¹⁰ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 310 ff.; Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, 147-48.

¹¹ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 17-18.

over and made camp in a clump of willows on firm ground. The rangers were soon engaged in preparing camp in irregular picnic fashion, many of them imbibing freely of the liquor.¹² Soon three Indians appeared on a nearby hill bearing a flag of truce.

At this time Black Hawk's main camp was about ten miles to the northeast on the Kishwaukee River, a small tributary of the Rock River. But he and about forty of his warriors were giving a dog feast to the Potawatomi half way between there and Major Stillman's camp. He was unsuccessful in gaining the support of that tribe, and later said that he sent the flag of truce for the purpose of giving up himself and his band in order to go back to the west of the Mississippi.¹³

Now occurred an amazing demonstration of lack of training, discipline, and leadership. Instead of receiving the truce-bearers in a proper manner, a mob of troopers, some with saddles on their horses, others bareback, rushed out and hurried the astonished Indians into camp. At this time five other Indians were seen some distance away, watching the procedure. These warriors had been sent out by Black Hawk to observe the treatment of the truce-bearers. A disorderly group of men without leaders now gave chase to these Indians and killed two. When this firing was heard there was great confusion in camp, one of the truce-bearers being shot and the other two making their escape.

When Black Hawk's warriors returned, telling him what had occurred, the Potawatomi withdrew, and the old Sauk chief, angered at the reception of his truce-bearers, decided to fight. Taking cover behind a clump

¹² Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 313-15.

¹³ *Autobiography of Black Hawk* (Oquawka, Ill., 1882), 96.

of trees, he and his forty warriors awaited the attack of the whites.

Stillman's men now gave pursuit in small groups without leaders until his entire command was stretched out over the prairie. After covering a distance of about four miles from camp, the foremost of the pursuers were suddenly confronted by Black Hawk's band. The Indians let out deafening yells and charged, firing their rifles at the nearest rangers. The surprise was so great that the leading whites turned at once and fled, shouting word as they galloped to the rear that they were pursued by all of Black Hawk's warriors. In the gathering darkness only two of the volunteers were killed at the first charge. The fleetness of their horses prevented large numbers from being shot or speared in the chase that followed. The effect of the first charge of the Indians is an excellent example of what happens to untrained troops when surprised.

As the leading troopers fled to the rear others followed until there was a complete rout. As word of the flight of their comrades reached those men left at camp they mounted individually, many cutting the halter shanks of their horses instead of untying them, and all raced back toward Dixon's Ferry. The wagons and camp equipage were all left on the ground to be later gathered in by Black Hawk who was already in need of provisions. The formerly eager Indian fighters were now just as eager to avoid the sight of an Indian. They never paused in their flight until reaching Dixon's, twenty-five miles down the Rock River.

One small group of nine men rallied with Captain Adams on a knoll just after crossing to the south side of Old Man's Creek. The rest of the battalion passed

them by and they were thus left to their fate. Black Hawk's braves pursued the rangers for several miles and then returned and eventually killed all of this little band. Today a monument stands on the hill where they sacrificed their lives, attesting the fact that the volunteers only needed leaders to point the way that trained soldiers should fight.

The first fugitives began to arrive at Dixon's about 1:00 A. M. and reported that most of the battalion had perished and Black Hawk would soon arrive to attack the main command. Others arrived during the night and by daylight all but fifty-two were back. Some of the men turned south from the place of attack and never stopped until they arrived at their homes. It was over a month before the exact number of casualties was known. It was then found that only twelve whites were killed and two wounded, including the squad with Captain Adams. The only Indians killed were one truce-bearer and two of the five who were first chased by the rangers.¹⁴ Not one of the whites or Indians was killed in that long chase to Dixon's, which is accounted for by the darkness and the swiftness of the troopers' horses.

General Whiteside moved out with his whole force the same day that the fugitives returned and reached Stillman's campground by nightfall. After burying the little group which fell with Captain Adams, the army returned to Dixon's the following day.

While these events were going on, the infantry under Atkinson was slowly ascending Rock River. His command arrived at Dixon's on May 17 to find the volunteers completely disorganized. After many speeches by Gov-

¹⁴ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 22; Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, 151-52.

ernor Reynolds and talks by the officers, the men were induced to follow the enemy. The entire command of 2,400 left Dixon's on May 19 and slowly marched up the Rock River. Stillman's battlefield was reached on the second day when the volunteers clamored so loudly for their discharges that the expedition was stopped. Word was soon received that the battalion of Stillman, which was left to guard the stores at Dixon's, had gone home. Atkinson then returned to that place with the regulars, and the volunteers marched south to Ottawa where they were discharged on May 25.¹⁵ This is an astonishing instance of an army disbanding while only a short distance from the enemy.

Governor Reynolds at once called for a fresh levy of 2,000 mounted volunteers to assemble at Beardstown on June 10. General Winfield Scott was ordered also by President Jackson to assemble 1,000 regular troops from the eastern seaboard and to proceed to the theater of war and assume command. Since General Atkinson did not believe his infantry force could cope with the mounted Indians, he persuaded 300 of the volunteers to remain in service until the new force arrived. Among these men were the former brigade commander Brigadier General Whiteside and Captain Abraham Lincoln, now serving as privates.

After the Stillman defeat Black Hawk moved his band into southern Wisconsin where he believed it to be safe against attack. He divided his force into small bands and made forays against the settlements. In this border warfare he was assisted by groups of Potawatomi

¹⁵ Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, 156-57; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 134-35; Alexander Macomb, "Report from the Major General of the Army," *American State Papers*, 22-24 Cong., *Military Affairs*, Vol. V (Washington, 1860), 30.

and Winnebago.¹⁶ During this irregular fighting about 200 whites and about the same number of Indians were killed.

Not all of the volunteers were abandoning the frontier to the Indians, for there was one leader who made himself known at once during the summer of 1832. Colonel Henry Dodge, a prominent mine owner of southwestern Wisconsin, organized a squadron from among the miners of his home area and northwestern Illinois. Later in the year he was placed in command of the regular Battalion of Mounted Rangers which was organized by an act of Congress dated June 15, 1832. In the following year he was given command of the newly organized First Dragoons of the regulars.¹⁷ At first his squadron of miners moved from place to place in the lead mining area where they were most needed. They soon gained a reputation for quick marches from one threatened point to another. Dodge's leadership soon was asserted over his men and they were willing to follow him anywhere.

Word was sent to Colonel Dodge of the murder of several men about six miles southeast of Fort Hamilton, Wisconsin. He arrived at the fort on the morning of June 16 with less than a company of his men when he met a man nearby on his way to his cabin. In a few minutes a shot was heard and investigation showed that the Indians had killed this man less than a mile away. Dodge's volunteers were so indignant that they tried to rush off at once individually to hunt the Indians, but stern commands, reminding them of the Stillman episode, prevented this. Dodge, commanding his men to

¹⁶ John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895), I: 369.

¹⁷ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), I: 65, 141, 376.

mount, addressed them briefly and ordered an advance at full speed.¹⁸

With twenty-nine men he followed through dense thickets for several miles until the Pecatonica River was crossed. The Indians were then sighted in an open space but quickly disappeared among the trees. Dodge dismounted his men, left four in charge of the horses, and sent four as lookouts to nearby knolls. The men were formed as skirmishers and marched toward the thicket where the Indians had gone. They moved for a short distance as quietly as possible when a burst of fire brought down three of the whites. Colonel Dodge gave the command to charge and all rushed forward upon the Indians, who were concealed behind an embankment. In two minutes all of the savages were killed, seventeen in number, while none of the whites was injured except those shot in the first volley. This was the first example, in this war, of the frontiersmen showing how they could fight when properly led.¹⁹

Other skirmishes took place during the summer, in which the whites were either defeated or failed to get decisive results. There was fighting at the Davis Farm, Apple River, Kellogg's Grove, Plum River, Burr Oak Grove, Blue Mound, and other places. General Atkinson used his small force of volunteers and regulars to patrol the country and to man the small stockades which the citizens constructed, but the Indians were generally left free to roam at will and to attack at any point. The General was playing an excessively prudent game of war with Black Hawk. He always moved as if the army

¹⁸ Daniel M. Parkinson, "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (Madison, 1856), II: 337-49; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 182.

¹⁹ *Wis. Hist. Col.*, II: 347; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 181-82.

of the old Sauk greatly outnumbered the whites.²⁰ The war could never have been brought to a close by using such tactics.

After two calls by Governor Reynolds for a new volunteer army, there assembled at Fort Wilbourn, near Peru, Illinois, by June 15 about 3,200 mounted men. With the 500 men under Colonels Fry and Dodge and the regular infantry of 400 men, the field army now amounted to 4,100. There were several companies of home guards doing duty in the border settlements. The volunteer force was organized into three brigades of three regiments and a scout battalion each, except that the third brigade, under the great leader, Brigadier General James D. Henry, had four regiments. The officers were elected by the men, even including the brigade commanders.

On account of depredations occurring at various points, the first and second brigades were detached soon after being organized. The first brigade was sent to Fort Hamilton to work with Colonel Dodge's battalion. It was a battalion of this brigade which had the skirmish at Kellogg's Grove on June 25. The second brigade was ordered to the Plum River country to intercept the Indians in case they were trying to move west to the Mississippi.

General Atkinson finally moved up the Rock River from Dixon's on June 27 after receiving word that the main camp of the Sauk was on Lake Koshkonong in southern Wisconsin. The third brigade and 400 members of the regular infantry made up the force under the direct command of Brigadier General Hugh Brady of

²⁰ Armstrong, *The Sanks*, 381.

the regular army.²¹ There were also attached seventy-five Potawatomi Indians as scouts under Colonel Fry.²²

The march was necessarily slow on account of the large amount of baggage, the nature of the country, and the fact that the cavalry was limited to the marches of the infantry. On June 29 the force traveled six miles, on the next day four miles, and on July 1, seven miles. The enemy could never be reached as long as such short distances were traveled. "Black Hawk is said to have remarked, that he could plant and raise corn, and keep out of the way of Atkinson."²³

The camps of the whites could not be rushed because at the close of each day the troops selected a place in timber usually protected by breastworks. The wagons were formed into a square in which the horses were corralled at night. Fires were lighted forty yards in front, and in case of attack the sentries retired to the line of tents which were also in the form of a square in front of the wagons.

Soon after crossing into Wisconsin, fresh signs of Indian camps were found each day. On July 3 the scouts brought in word of a deserted camp only three days old. The command bivouacked on this day at Lake Koshkonong, which is formed by the widening of the Rock River. New indications of Indians were everywhere discovered by scouting parties but Black Hawk's band could not be located. The army continued up the river until July 8. It was later discovered that Black Hawk's camp was only a few miles farther up the river. But on this day the Winnebago chief, Decori, came into

²¹ Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 203 ff.

²² Wakefield, *History of the War*, 41.

²³ Alfred Brunson, "Memoir of Hon. Thomas Pendleton Burnett," *Wis. Hist. Col.* I: 258.

camp and persuaded General Atkinson that the Sauk were to the south. The general believed the old Indian and started a retrograde movement, arriving back at the former camp on Lake Koshkonong on July 9.²⁴ So sure was Atkinson that he was about to capture Black Hawk that he had already ordered in all of the scouting expeditions. The entire field army was now assembled at Lake Koshkonong.

On account of the wastefulness of the volunteers the provisions were now nearly exhausted. They were discouraged at not finding Black Hawk and did not wish to follow the trail any farther. A great many of them were dismounted through lack of proper care of their horses. General Atkinson realized that some drastic action would have to be taken to prevent the breakup of the expedition as had happened to the first army.

All men who were incapacitated or who had lost their horses, which was now nearly half of the volunteer force, were ordered to march back to Dixon's on July 10. The remainder of the first brigade was ordered to Fort Hamilton to guard the mining country. The second and third brigades and Colonel Dodge's battalion were ordered to Fort Winnebago on the Wisconsin River, eighty miles to the northwest, to obtain provisions. This left only 400 of the regular infantry at Lake Koshkonong where a small fort was built.

After a difficult march of two days over rough country, Dodge's battalion and the brigades of Alexander and Henry arrived at Fort Winnebago on July 12. That night a party of thieving Indians stampeded the horses which had not been brought into a corral as was the usual custom. Running directly in a northerly direction

²⁴ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 46-47; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 210.

through camp, the horses trampled men and equipment under foot. When they reached the Wisconsin River they turned back and again rushed over soldiers, tents, and guns. For thirty miles the horses ran over ground which was very rough. It took two days to assemble them and then about thirty were never found and many were injured.²⁵ Added to their already poor condition the animals were now hardly considered serviceable.

Soon after the arrival of the troops at Fort Winnebago, a half-breed trader, Pierre Paquette, informed them of the location of Black Hawk's band a half day's march south of Cranberry Lake on Rock River. After the departure of all of the troops except the infantry from Lake Koshkonong, Captain William S. Harney made a scout to the north of that place which also resulted in information that the Sauk were in that same locality. When General Henry received the information from Paquette he called a conference of the officers and proposed that the troops act upon the information instead of going back to Fort Koshkonong with the supply train. Dodge was willing but said his horses were not in good enough condition to make the trip. Alexander said that his brigade would return to Fort Koshkonong. The men of one regiment of Henry's brigade signed a remonstrance against the proposition. Without any bluster Henry ordered every man whose signature was on the paper in arrest and made arrangements to send them to General Atkinson for trial. Here we see the second leader asserting himself in the Black Hawk War. In less than ten minutes everyone involved in the protest came to General Henry and begged his forgiveness

²⁵ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 47; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 213-14; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 254-55.

and asked to be taken along. He pardoned all of them and made no further reference to the incident.²⁶ As most of the officers in the war were politicians they feared to incur the disfavor of their men on account of their votes. General Henry was running for no office and therefore asked no favors.

With all of their qualities of leadership over men, neither Henry nor Dodge knew how to conserve their horses. About sixty-five fresh animals arrived for Dodge's battalion, bringing his total mounted strength to 120, and he notified Henry that he would go along.²⁷ The latter was able to muster 450 serviceable horses. Henry's brigade was originally 1,200 and Dodge's 300 strong. The loss was not from casualties in battle or illness, but from the indifferent care of their mounts.

Accompanied by Pierre Paquette and twelve Winnebago, the two outstanding leaders of this war, Henry and Dodge, took up the march on July 15. Though hampered by thick underbrush and swamps, they reached the upper Rock River three days later only to find that Black Hawk had decamped.

But a new trail was located on the same day leading to the west, and the army made a fresh start on the nineteenth. Five of the wagons were discarded and all equipment not absolutely needed was left in a pile in the wilderness.²⁸ The cavalry had learned to travel light if the enemy was to be overtaken. The men felt that at last they were about to overtake the elusive Black Hawk. On the following day an old Indian was captured who informed them that the Sauk were only a few miles ahead. Battle order was formed but the enemy

²⁶ Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 214-15.

²⁷ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 447; Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 215.

²⁸ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 64.

managed to stay out of the way the rest of the day. With the rain pouring down and no tents in which to sleep, the command bivouacked and ate raw meat and flour because fires could not be lighted. These discomforts, which a short time before would have caused many complaints, were now taken lightly. Word was brought by the scouts that the Indian encampment was only one and one-half miles away.

On the twenty-first the march was not as rapid as it should have been because some of the men were already dismounted due to the exhaustion of the horses. The command pursued only as fast as the footmen could walk. However there were many signs that the Indians were suffering for lack of food and this encouraged the whites to press on at a more rapid pace.²⁹ Even General Henry dismounted at times and allowed a footman to ride his horse. The pursuit led along the Four Lakes, through what is now the city of Madison, Wisconsin, and then northwest toward the Wisconsin River.

About noon the scouts surprised two of the Indian observers and killed one of them. Many of the horses were now showing signs of giving out and the soldiers lightened the loads by throwing away camp kettles and other articles. The trail was strewn with trinkets which the terrified families of the Indians had abandoned. About 3:00 P. M. the scouts reported that the Indians were reaching the Wisconsin River, which at this point was several hundred yards wide. By this time about forty horses had been left along the trail, unable to stand the strain of marching with no rest.

The rear guard of the Indians now made a stand against the advance guard of the whites. Thinking that

²⁹ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 451-52.

all of the enemy was going to fight at this place, General Henry formed his main body for battle. But the savages withdrew to another hill before the troops reached them. The army had to be assembled and again put on the line of march which took some time. In a little while the advance guard was again under fire from the Indians, and the General again formed the army for battle. There was the same delay as before in assembling and starting forward. In the third stand by the savages Dickson's scout company in the advance guard drove them back upon their main body, thus allowing Henry's main force to continue forward.

The main force of the Indians opened fire as the advance guard, consisting of Ewing's regiment, was passing along uneven ground which was covered with grass and brush.³⁰ The men dismounted and sent the horses to the rear and advanced to the attack. General Henry came forward and found the Indians occupying a hill overlooking the Wisconsin River which was about one mile distant. It was this hill from which the battle took its name of Wisconsin Heights. He issued his attack order at once which provided for the troops to form, dismounted, in an irregular hollow square, thus facing in all directions.³¹ On the extreme left and facing that way was Collins' regiment; next was Jones's regiment; then Ewing's, which was already engaged and facing at right angles to the two regiments on his left. The line was extended to the right by Dodge's regiment. Fry's regiment was on the extreme right and facing at right angles to Dodge. It also furnished the reserve and guard for the led horses. The animals were held inside

³⁰ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 456.

³¹ Henry Brown, *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1844), 368.

brought up in support from the right rear and the charge was carried out all along the line. The Indians were forced from their position at the point of the bayonet and they now took up a stronger position, farther west, in grass at the head of a hollow.³³ The three regiments on the left soon charged the savages in their new position, driving them in scattered groups into the Wisconsin River bottom.

The Indians descended the bluffs and joined their people who were crossing the river. In order to stop further pursuit they crossed a marsh and prepared to resist the whites in the timber along the stream. In the gathering darkness, General Henry sounded the recall and the troops camped on the battlefield. His losses were one man killed and eight wounded while the Indians lost about sixty out of a total of approximately three hundred warriors.

Black Hawk commanded his warriors during the battle from a nearby knoll where he was seated on a white horse in view of the soldiers. This fighting is classed as a series of rear guard skirmishes followed by a delaying action. The tactical knowledge displayed by the old Sauk is worthy of our admiration. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis is quoted, many years later, as saying that the fight was "the most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed—a feat of most consummate [*sic*] management and bravery, in the face of an enemy of greatly superior numbers."³⁴ They would have fought much better if they had not been handicapped by lack of food.³⁵ Since the Indians had left the Rock

³³ Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 218.

³⁴ M. M. Quaife, "The Northwestern Career of Jefferson Davis," *Journal of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, no. 1-2 (April-July, 1923), 11.

³⁵ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 463.

River, the game had been scarce and there was no chance to hunt during the hundred-mile flight ahead of Henry's army.

The main part of Black Hawk's band crossed the Wisconsin River and fled northwest toward the Mississippi. During the night after the battle a large party, mostly women and children, was placed on rafts and sent down the stream. When they arrived near the mouth of the river they were fired on by a detachment of the First United States Infantry, under Lieutenant Joseph Ritner, from Fort Crawford, sent there to intercept any Indians who might flee west. Taking the savages by surprise the troops killed fifteen warriors, and took prisoner thirty-two women and children and four men.³⁶

During the night following the battle the nervous troops were awakened by a loud voice speaking in an Indian dialect which no one understood. Thinking an attack was about to be made they stood to arms the remainder of the night. To make matters worse the horses stampeded the same night. Some time later they found out that the voice came from Nahpope, second in command of the Sauk, who was telling them that the Indians were starving and wished to surrender.

Although the troops had come upon the Indians in an exhausted condition they did not deem it wise to pursue farther without more supplies. Here we find a victorious army which had just driven the enemy into a river turning about and marching several miles for provisions. They had worn out many hundreds of horses on fruitless marches searching for the savages, but as soon as the men saw their own food diminishing they

³⁶ Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, 180-81.

abandoned an enemy at bay and went in search of supplies.

Henry marched about ten miles south to Blue Mounds, Wisconsin, on July 23, where the mounted portion of Atkinson's command arrived on the same day, including Posey's brigade which came from Fort Hamilton. Through loss of horses and illness of the men the mounted force was now reduced to the original strength of one brigade.³⁷ The men were discouraged and wished to pursue no farther as they believed the Indians would never be found again.

The regular infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor having arrived, the army moved north and crossed the Wisconsin River on July 27 and 28. This was accomplished by making rafts out of the logs from the abandoned village of Helena. The main Indian trail was discovered about five miles north of the river, leading northwest, and the men were now elated at the prospect of overtaking the savages.³⁸

The country marched over during the next few days was both rough and swampy with very little grass for the horses. They had brought along one wagon filled mostly with medical supplies, but this was left behind on the thirtieth due to the hilly terrain. The contents were lashed on horses and carried along. The men still had plenty of food, besides several beeves which were driven along with the column.

The trail became plainer on August 1, as evidenced by the discovery of several bodies of Indians who had been wounded at Wisconsin Heights and later died. The savages were eating horse meat and leaving along the

³⁷ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 75.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

trail a few old people and children who died of famine and exposure. For three days the horses of the whites had subsisted on little more than weeds, but the valley of the Kickapoo River, where there was plenty of grass, was reached on this day. Many horses had been abandoned but the troops were now encouraged that all of them would not be lost. The army was less than a day's march from the broad Mississippi River and hoped to reach it before Black Hawk's band could cross.

The Sauk reached the Mississippi on August 1 at a point about two miles below the mouth of the Bad Axe River. They began crossing at once but were able to send only a few people over at a time owing to the shortage of canoes. While they were ferrying the band to the other side of the river, the steamboat *Warrior* came in sight. It was a supply boat returning from up north to notify the friendly Sioux that the Sauk were headed west. On board were two officers, fifteen regulars, and six volunteers. Black Hawk appeared on the bank with a white flag and asked the captain of the steamer to send over a boat. Suspecting a trap the captain sent word back for the Indians to send a boat to the steamer. As there was none available the latter could not comply. After a few minutes the *Warrior* opened fire with its cannon and both the savages and the soldiers on board began firing with their muskets. During the skirmish twenty-three Indians were killed but none on board the steamboat was injured. The *Warrior* then proceeded to Prairie du Chien for fuel. Although it was natural for them to suspect the Indians of treachery, the whites missed another chance to receive the surrender of Black Hawk.

Reveille came at 2:00 A. M. on August 2, and Atkin-

son's army was on the trail before daylight. The order of march was: Dodge's squadron, the advance guard; the infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Taylor next; the second brigade under General Alexander next; the first brigade under General Posey next; and the third brigade under General Henry was in the rear.³⁹ After about five miles were covered, word was sent back by the scouts that they were in contact with the enemy. The main body increased its pace and Dodge's squadron was soon in pursuit, beginning what is known as the Battle of Bad Axe.

Black Hawk's plan was to cover up the trail of the main portion of the fugitives and to use a rear guard of about twenty braves to lead Atkinson on up the river and away from the place where his people were crossing.⁴⁰ The ruse worked well and the army deployed to fight the rear guard of the Indians, thinking it was the main body. Dodge's squadron was first in contact and the regular infantry moved up on his right. Posey's brigade was on the right of the regulars, and Alexander's brigade was on his right. The men dismounted and sent their horses to the rear. Henry's brigade was to act as the reserve.

The latter's scouts soon discovered the main Indian trail leading to the left in the direction of the river. He followed this to the bottom of the steep bluffs overlooking the river and here dismounted. One of his combat patrols of eight men soon came in contact with the Sauk and in the first volley five of the volunteers were shot. But Henry had deployed his men and was only a short distance behind. A message was sent to Atkinson

³⁹ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 82.

⁴⁰ Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 470.

apprising him of the situation. Henry was outnumbered but ordered a charge and the Indians were pushed back to the river bank. In about half an hour the regular infantry, under Taylor, and Dodge's squadron had swung to the left, driving the Indian rear guard in front of them, and joined up on Henry's right. The brigades of Posey and Alexander were posted farther up the river to prevent the savages from escaping to the north. The surviving Indians now took refuge on an island in the Mississippi River. The engagement was brought to a close when the regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor, Major John Bliss, Captain William S. Harney, and Captain Henry Smith and a few volunteers plunged breast deep into the water, waded to the island, and swept it from end to end with a bayonet charge.⁴¹ The casualties out of a total of about 1,300 engaged for the whites were 5 regulars killed and 4 wounded; the volunteers, 2 killed and 13 wounded. The Indians lost about 150 killed and 40 captured, the latter mostly women and children.⁴²

This battle ended the war of lost motion, inefficiency, and destruction of horseflesh. If the volunteers had really tried to be useless soldiers, it is doubtful if they could have succeeded any better. General Atkinson moved so slowly that he gave the Indians every chance to escape. The only reason they were caught was because they had decided to move back to the area assigned to them west of the Mississippi.

The War Department issued Order No. 51 on June 16, 1832, placing Major General Winfield Scott in command of the forces in the Black Hawk War and ordered

⁴¹ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 84-85.

⁴² Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 224.

about thirty companies of the regular army to the field of action. He gathered together nine companies of artillery, equipped as infantry, and 208 recruits, from the seaboard, and with nine companies of infantry along the lakes, proceeded by boat to the seat of the war.⁴³ Everything went well until Detroit was reached when two cases of cholera appeared on one of the boats. This caused great excitement. The ships proceeded north along Lake St. Clair but the disease assumed such proportions that it was necessary to stop at Fort Gratiot to land five companies, mostly recruits, under Lieutenant Colonel David E. Twiggs. Many of these died, while others fled to the surrounding country where they were shunned by the inhabitants. Among those who were ordered to the seat of the war from the eastern seaboard, were most of the cadets of the United States Military Academy, the class of 1832, forty-five in number. After the disease became so virulent, these were sent back when the expedition reached Fort Gratiot.⁴⁴

The remainder proceeded through the Straits of Mackinac but the disease appeared again on board and thirty died before Chicago was reached on July 10, 1832. Fort Dearborn was converted into a hospital while all of the inhabitants in good health moved to the open country. During the epidemic General Scott made every effort to suppress the disease, administering to the sick with his own hands.⁴⁵ Refusing to allow the infected troops to proceed to the seat of war and mingle with the other men, General Scott left the troops at Chicago and proceeded with three staff officers to Prairie du

⁴³ Macomb, "Report," *Amer. State Papers, Mil. Affairs*, V: 30-31.

⁴⁴ John Wentworth, "Fort Dearborn," *Fergus' Historical Series*, no. 16 (Chicago, 1881), 37.

⁴⁵ Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, 243.

Chien, which was reached on August 7. To stop further contagion he ordered the immediate discharge of the volunteers. But the disease spread westward and was soon creating havoc among the Indians. The conferences to settle the questions of the late war were suspended until it was safe to assemble the chiefs. The treaty was finally signed with them on September 21, which brought to a close the hostilities.

Considered from the standpoint of results the Black Hawk War of 1832, which took place in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin, was one of the most successful in American history, for that part of the Sauk Indian tribe which participated in the war was nearly exterminated. But considered from the standpoint of efficiency of prosecution, the war was not one of which American arms could be proud. There are so many lessons to be learned from this campaign of one summer that it is worth a study.

It was necessarily a cavalry campaign. With 500 howling, painted, mounted warriors turned loose upon the frontier the infantry could do little more than sit and wait at small blockhouses or forts. After the Revolutionary War there were organized from time to time a few mounted regiments of light dragoons which were always disbanded at the end of the emergency.⁴⁶ At the beginning of the Black Hawk War our army had not seen a regular mounted force since 1815. During the summer of 1832 a Battalion of Mounted Rangers was organized which was changed to the First Dragoons in 1833. Although this war was fought with volunteer cavalry the need for permanent or regular cavalry was shown by the experiences of this campaign. As we have

⁴⁶ Heitman, *Historical Register*, I: 79.

had cavalry continuously since then we can say that this war saw the birth of our regular mounted force of today.

Although there were only about seven thousand men involved in the war, many who later became famous took part in it. Among these were: Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor and Captain Abraham Lincoln, who later became presidents; Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who became president of the Confederacy; Lieutenant Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame; Lieutenant Albert Sidney Johnston, adjutant of the expedition; Lieutenant Colonel David E. Twiggs, later the first colonel of the Second United States Dragoons; Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, commanding the forces in the field; Colonel Henry Dodge, later the first colonel of the First United States Dragoons; Colonel William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; Captain William S. Harney, the hero of Cerro Gordo and the second colonel of the Second United States Dragoons; General Winfield Scott, Lieutenant E. D. Baker, Private John A. McClernand, Lieutenant Samuel P. Heintzelman, Captain Levi D. Boone, Brigadier General Hugh Brady, Lieutenant Joseph E. Johnston and many others. There were also innumerable future United States senators, cabinet ministers, governors, and lesser politicians, besides many who were holding office at the time of the war.⁴⁷

One of the most remarkable things about this campaign was the rowdiness displayed by the volunteers. The rollicking spirit of the frontiersmen of that early period was carried to the battlefield where the men wished to romp and play even on the eve of an engage-

⁴⁷ Edward L. Burchard, "Early Trails. . . in the Blackhawk Country," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, no. 4 (Jan., 1925), 590; Armstrong, *The Sauks*, 659-726.

ment. But the rattle of small arms and the hiss of arrows stopped this spirit of bravado.⁴⁸

Discipline was a thing utterly unknown among the volunteers of this war. Officers were elected by acclamation and needed the popularity of one holding an elective office in order to retain their jobs.⁴⁹ It is said that when Captain Abraham Lincoln gave his first command, he was told to "Go to hell." There was no conception of the spirit of obedience to orders that is considered so necessary in a well-disciplined army. Actually, the army of volunteers in the Black Hawk War of 1832 was a mob.

Hostilities having once begun, the campaign was prolonged unnecessarily by the failure of supplies. This is the old tale of the breaking down of "what it takes" to keep an army going. If food had been forthcoming regularly the campaign could have been shortened by half, and the loss of lives and cost would have been reduced accordingly. It is true that when the volunteers received food they were so prodigal in its use that it never lasted as long as it should have. They were constantly being warned to conserve their supplies, but without result.

The greatest wastage of the campaign was the abuse of horseflesh. In a "horse and buggy age" when everyone was supposed to know the capabilities of the animal, large portions of the cavalry units were often dismounted for lack of proper care of their mounts. As this campaign developed, the troops had greater fighting efficiency than at the beginning. One is forced to the conclusion that it takes more than the presence of the future great men of America to win a battle.

⁴⁸ Frank E. Stevens, "Stillman's Defeat," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1902, p. 173.

⁴⁹ Wakefield, *History of the War*, 18.

INFANT INDUSTRIES IN ILLINOIS

As Illustrated in Quincy, 1836-1856

BY HARRY L. WILKEY

INTRODUCTION

THE June, 1938, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* carried an article by Mr. Hubert Schmidt entitled "Farming in Illinois a Century Ago as Illustrated in Bond County." This paper, in the main, was part of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the master's degree at the University of Chicago, and the material was gathered from the records in the courthouse of Bond County. It is a coincidence that, at the same time, the files of the newspapers of Adams County should be serving as the source material for my master's thesis at the University of Illinois, entitled "The Industrial Development of Adams County, Illinois, 1836-1856." The material presented here is taken, in the main, from that thesis.

Mr. Schmidt pointed out in his article the wealth of material to be found in the various courthouses of Illinois. To that I would add the newspapers in cases where they were published at a sufficiently early date. Here are vivid descriptive sources, presented by those who should have best been able to write. If the newspaper and courthouse materials are combined, a very rich

source of information is available to any who would reconstruct the past of the State of Illinois.

THE NATURE OF EARLY INDUSTRIES

Infant industries in the United States seem to have followed a general pattern, and their development in colonial America and in frontier Illinois is markedly similar. An industrial plant has been defined as one which "includes all the physical means combined in a single establishment by which raw materials are converted into manufactured goods, and processes are the succession of operations by which this operation is achieved."¹ In Illinois before the Civil War the type of plant varied.

Original household manufactures² practiced by the pioneers were not specialized. Many different tasks were carried out in meeting the needs of the household, such as making shoes, clothing, candles, soap, and so on. These were the earliest forms of manufacture, and were carried out extensively throughout the twenty years under study.

The next phase of the evolution of industry was the workshop crafts. Here the work was specialized, and added help was often employed. This help was usually an apprentice who was given board and room and only a little, if any, cash—plus the teaching of the master who was a skilled craftsman. In the workshop crafts most of the work was individualized and great pride was taken in the workmanship of the product. This form of industry began to flourish in Adams County

¹ Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York, 1929), I: 159.

² "Manufacture" as used here means the old implication of the word, "made by hand," and does not refer to modern factory methods.

about 1838, and was common until the Civil War and many years thereafter. Some industries never reached any greater degree of complexity throughout the period studied.

The development of factories and mills began about 1840. A mill at this time was either a contrivance for grinding, such as a grist or flour mill, or any machine operated by animal, wind or water power. The main technical difference between the shop, or workshop, and the factory was the use of power machinery. During this period steam was the chief source of power in the factories and mills. They were growing rapidly during the last part of the period under study, as will be demonstrated in the case of the leading industries.

Organization of industry at this time was either individual ownership and management, or a partnership. In the latter cases, the partners were brothers, or father and sons, or two unrelated individuals whose capacities could be used to greater advantage collectively than separately. If more laborers were added, the owner continued to work, or if the concern became too big, he devoted his entire time to the function of management. His time was spent, for the most part, on the scene of activity. The corporation as a form of organization is not found in the industries of this period. It was used for the railroads, which were promoted in a semi-public way until about 1855. After the Civil War, incorporation became a very common practice.

It will be noted that in the case of many of the industries to be described, all three of these forms are to be found side by side. Some industries, such as soap-making, had hardly passed the household stage. Others, such as watchmaking, were found only in the work-

shop craft stage. Stoves were manufactured mostly in factories. Clothmaking was found in all three stages.

THE PORK PACKING INDUSTRY

The early history of hogs is romantic, and so is the early packing process. Both the modern animal and the industry developed in the Ohio Valley in the early part of the nineteenth century, and by 1825 the industry was receiving general recognition. The early hog had been the razorback, and the average weight of one of these long-legged, slab-sided vicious creatures was about a hundred pounds. These hogs were allowed to roam at large in the timber, where they lived chiefly on acorns and nuts. The owner clipped an ear of each hog with his particular brand, and in the fall, when the herds were tempted to the clearing with corn, each farmer claimed his own. He butchered the animals, smoking and salting down the hams, shoulders, and bacon. He made up as much sausage and lard as the carcass would allow, and discarded the rest. Since the hog was a prolific creature, the farmer soon had a surplus for market.

The first middlemen in the pork packing business did not recognize themselves as packers. They were the provision merchants who would buy or sell anything, including pork. But as the supply of pork increased, various men made the exclusive handling of it a business. With this development the razorback began to disappear, for he was not a profitable animal for packing. Scientific breeding resulted in a hog usually weighing over 300 pounds before being marketed. It might be noted that a century ago, great emphasis was put on weight, with the heaviest hog bringing the premium. Desirable weight for marketing today averages from

200 to 225 pounds in most packing centers.

The pork packing business is an interesting one. It must be remembered that in this period there was no method of refrigeration and the present methods of mass production were unknown. As in most other industries of that time, individual skill counted for a great deal. In order to utilize Nature as a refrigerant, packing took place only during the winter months, beginning about October 1 and ending about February 1. The close of the season found the warehouses crowded with barrels filled with pork, ready for the first steamboat to come up the river. The only preservative other than the weather was the salt or smoke with which the meat had been prepared.

The finished products of the packing houses were classified as mess pork (one of the great staples in the diet of the southern slaves), prime pork, hams in pickle, shoulders in pickle, and lard. All of these found a market in St. Louis and New Orleans, and the prime pork, lard, and pickled tongue found a market in the East.³

Preparing hogs for market consisted, first, of slaughtering and dressing them, then cutting them up, salting and smoking them and packing them in barrels made by the local coopers. The plants were all located on or near the wharf, and besides the convenience for shipping, this offered a means for disposal of the refuse of the process. Lard was rendered on the spot, and the dressed pork was prepared for market. Sometimes the meat was pickled and put down in the barrels in brine, and sometimes the salted and smoked meat was packed dry in the barrel. Bacon was smoked and salted and shipped in wooden tierces, or hogsheds, holding 800

³ *Quincy Whig*, Jan. 27, 1855.

pounds each. Lard was packed in tierces of 1,120 pound capacity. Thirty-eight barrels of bologna sausage were shipped from Quincy in 1854-1855 by butchers. It seems that in that day the packer did not bother with by-products, as is now the case.

It will be interesting to follow the editor of the *Quincy Whig*, in one of his many walks around the growing city and see through his eyes what the slaughtering and packing houses looked like. His account appeared in the *Whig* for December 4, 1849:

The past week has been a busy one at the Packing and Slaughtering Houses. During a short walk one day last week to the Slaughtering Houses on the bay, we found all hands busily employed. At Arthur's, we suppose there was twenty or thirty hands busy as bees round a hive. Some driving hogs into pens—others engaged in *bleeding* them; then again others sousing them into kettles of hot water, scraping the *fur* off them, disembowelling them, hanging them up, &c., &c. At Jamison and Bagley's Slaughtering House, there were full as many, if not more hands employed in the same manner. We suppose these two houses last week, turned out ready for the packers, on an average, from four to seven hundred hogs every twenty-four hours. The weather was highly favorable for slaughtering, and farmers were constantly coming in with their droves, and as fast as the pens were cleared others were taking their places. The two Packing Houses we visited, Mackoy's and Pomroy & Co.'s—all hands were engaged in "going the entire animal." At the latter establishment they were going it with a rush, and were turning out about one hundred barrels of Pork a day, ready for the market. At Seaman's establishment they commenced cutting on Tuesday, and we believe also at Well's. We have no report from Norwood's. Most of the Hogs now being cut, are intended for early shipment, and generally on account of eastern and southern houses. We suppose the market is now settled at \$2.25 for the heaviest Hogs, and less for those under 200 lbs.

During the week there were about 3,200 head cut, and on Saturday it was supposed there were in the neighborhood of 2,000 in the pens ready for slaughtering. The present week, from appearances, the number cut will largely overgo the last. Wagon hogs are beginning to come in quite freely, and droves of live ones are

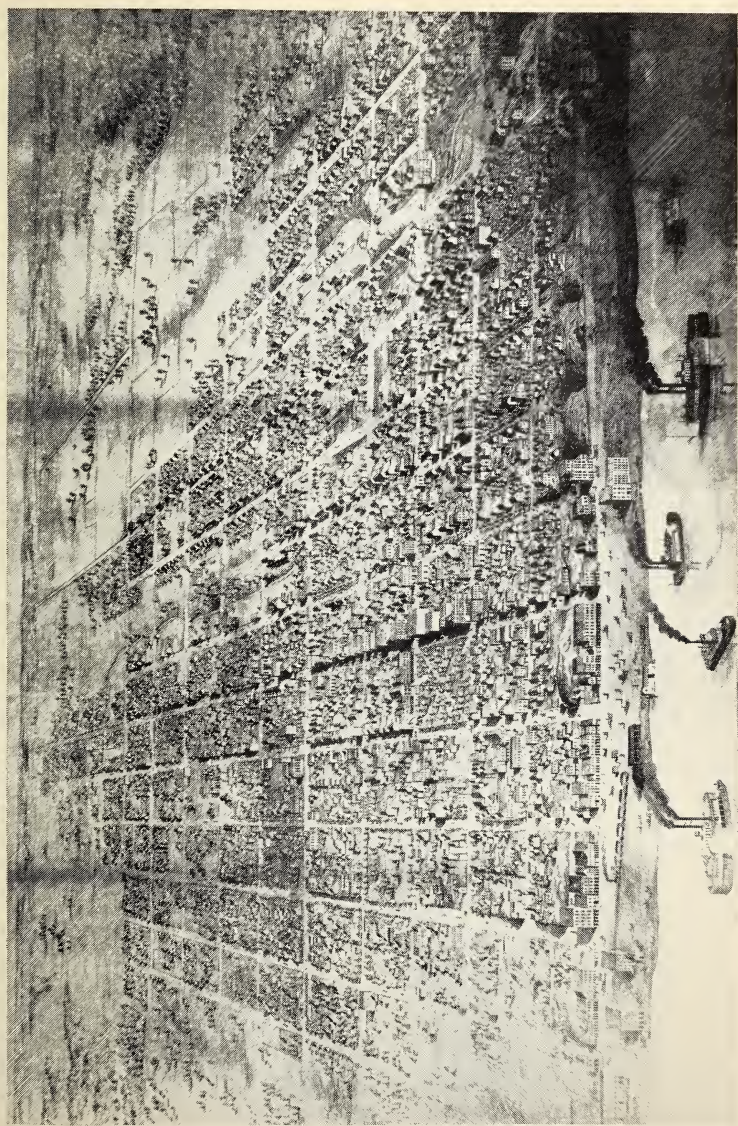
swarming into the city constantly, and if the present favorable weather continues, there will, in all probability, be a large number packed at this point this season.

In most cases the pork was shipped when the ice went out of the river, which in Quincy was usually in March. During April the water was generally high enough to allow the big boats from New Orleans to come up the river as far as Quincy, but the rest of the time the steamers landing there were the smaller boats of the upper river; these started at St. Louis and continued up the river perhaps as far as St. Paul. There was always considerable risk to this method of transportation in those days. To quote from the *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1841:

The steamboat *Chester*, on her passage from this city to New Orleans, was snagged on the 8th inst., about 30 miles above the mouth of the Ohio, while in the act of rounding to. The boat and cargo was a total loss—the boat was insured.—The boat was freighted in part, by gentlemen of this city. Bond, Morgan & Co. had on board a quantity of grain, for which they were insured in the Quincy Insurance office.

A part of the cargo of the *Chester* might have been pork, for this was the season that the big shipments were taking place.

The general trend of this industry in Quincy was one of constant growth until about 1875, but there were fluctuations from year to year. Demand as well as supply naturally varied. Diseases among swine were more devastating in some years than in others. Another cause of fluctuation was the financial condition of the times. Sometimes the buyer could not get the credit needed for such a heavy investment as would accumulate in the course of a season, and again maybe the currency offered would be fluctuating or declining in value so rapidly



QUINCY, ILLINOIS, 1861



that the farmer would refuse to accept it.

THE FLOUR MILLING INDUSTRY

Flour mills were scattered at convenient points all over the countryside, for the pioneer always took his own wheat to the mill and never considered buying "store flour." The mills on the river, however, bought the surplus crop and milled it for export. This flour was packed in wooden barrels, 196 pounds to the barrel, and most of it was shipped down the river to New Orleans. Here the flour, like the pork, found a market among the plantation owners, who used it as one of the chief articles of diet for their slaves. By November 20, 1849, flour was being put up in sacks and given a brand name, although there is no evidence of this being entered into the export trade. The editor of the *Quincy Whig* wrote on the above date:

We received last week a small sack of extra fine Family Flour, of the Star brand, from the steam mill of Messrs. Whyers & Hazard of this city. It is put up in convenient sacks, and is really what it purports to be, an "extra" article—that is, our "better half" insists that it is a little superior to anything ever brought into the house.

The flour milling process of an early day is as picturesque as that of pork packing. Rather early it began to assume something of the nature of modern methods, although the patent roller mill was not introduced until after this period.

The problem of the miller was to remove the outer coat from the grain and to crush the center into flour. In the earliest pioneer days the grain was placed, a little at a time, between two flat horizontal stones, with radial indentations on the face of each. The upper stone was revolved on the stationary lower one, either by

hand power, horse power, or water power. After the grinding was completed the bran and the flour had to be separated, and this was done by a process called bolting. In this process, the ground wheat was placed in a cylinder with an outer circumference of cloth. As the cylinder was rotated, the flour sifted out and the bran remained in the cloth. Of course, within a rather short time this method was improved. The stones were replaced by rollers, the cloth by screens, and the entire process powered by steam. By the close of the period every settlement in the county had a steam mill, and Quincy had six of them. The earliest evidence found of a mill buying wheat to manufacture flour for export was in 1838. In that year E. B. Kimball & Company were offering \$1.12 per bushel for good merchantable wheat delivered at their mill in Quincy.⁴ This mill was described in the journal of a passenger on the steamboat *Orion* as "a little steam mill at the foot of what is now Delaware street, . . . wheezing away, as if in constant expectation of medical aid or immediate collapse."⁵

The June 12, 1841 issue of the *Quincy Whig* carried an account of the destruction of one of the city's steam flouring mills. Description of the destroyed property is meager, the article merely stating that the mill was a three-story brick building with a frame structure of the same dimensions attached. The catastrophe was caused by the blowing up of the boiler—an accident all too frequent with early steam engines.

The same paper for December 30, 1846 said:

1,080 barrels of Flour were manufactured [at one of the mills] in five days and three hours; and 1,040 barrels in five days and one

⁴ *Quincy Whig*, Aug. 25, 1838.

⁵ John Tillson, "History of Quincy," in William H. Collins and Cicero F. Perry, *Past and Present of the City of Quincy and Adams County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1905), 38.

hour. The same mill has been rising 14,000 barrels of Flour since the 17th of August last.

In the *Whig* for August 12, 1853, we find the following:

The *Pawnee*, bound for New Orleans, took on at this point, 2,190 barrels of Quincy flour for the New Orleans market, 1,400 of which was from the "City Mills" and the remainder from J. B. Browns.

By 1856 the five leading mills of the city milled 110,000 barrels of flour, using 550,000 bushels of wheat in the process.⁶

THE STOVE INDUSTRY

Unlike the preceding two industries, the stove business was relatively new. Until the days of Benjamin Franklin, the fireplace was used for both cooking the food and heating the room. The stove was among the several inventions of that gifted American, although his model was a small one. His first heater was of decorative wrought iron fashioned in the form of a harp. The complete stove was not more than three feet high, and in the base was a drawer to be filled with charcoal. By the fifties the heater was an oval tube of heavy sheet iron, enclosed at each end with cast iron pieces. The legs were a part of the cast ends and one of the castings contained the door. The entire stove was about three and one-half feet high, and about three or four feet long. A cast iron piece bolted to the upper part of the body of the stove made an attachment for the pipe. Ashes were removed through the door. Most of these stoves were designed to burn wood, which was the common fuel of the western country. They were successful in operation and enjoyed great popularity, for they were a vast im-

⁶ Collins and Perry, *Quincy*, 165.

provement over the fireplace used in pioneer homes.

The cookstove, which was manufactured in Quincy before the parlor stove, was a light affair indeed when compared to modern stoves and ranges. The various parts were of cast iron and were bolted together. There were usually four lids, each about nine inches in diameter. The firebox, designed to burn wood, was quite small. The earlier stoves did not enclose the ends of the oven, and the space was called a warming closet. Within a very short time the oven was added, and the general appearance of the stove was quite similar to its modern counterpart. When compared to the modern stove it appears quite flimsy, for it could be picked up and carried by one man. However, improvement in this respect was rapid, and nearly every year the design was heavier than the preceding one. The early models sold for \$10.00, as did the parlor stoves, but by 1856 the heavier and better stoves sold for \$14.00.

The first instance of stove manufacture in Quincy was in 1840. In August of that year S. B. Stoddard and C. Maertz advertised that they were commencing a stove, tin and sheet iron manufactory, and that they intended to keep on hand at all times a supply of stoves, tin and sheet iron, wholesale and retail, and also that gutters were made and all job work promptly attended to.⁷ This very obviously was the shop of two craftsmen who made out of tin and sheet iron what was called a stove. This could not be called the beginning of the stove industry in Quincy (although it was the first instance of stove manufacture) because it was a handicraft enterprise, entirely local, making stoves only incidentally and among other similar articles.

⁷ *Quincy Whig*, Aug. 1, 1840.

A decade later, according to the *Whig* for July 16, 1850, the Messrs. Comstock were erecting a large brick building on the river bank, to be used as a stove foundry. The Messrs. Comstock had been in the wholesale and retail hardware business for some years, and one of the items often advertised by the firm was stoves. By September the plant was complete, and boasted a furnace that was capable of melting 5,000 pounds of ore at one time.

On September 24, the editor of the *Whig* took one of his frequent walks about the industrial section of the city, and Mr. Allen Comstock, who seemed by this time to be in control of the works, showed him the plant in operation. The editor wrote:

The furnace was charged with about 2,800 pounds of pig iron metal—the engine was set in motion, and in about 30 minutes the mass was reduced to a liquid state. From the cupalo it was drawn off in hand ladles—holding, we suppose, about six quarts, and thus conveyed to the molds ready to receive it in the different parts of the room. We examined them [after they were finished] . . . and there was a polish, a glossy appearance about them, a finish, denoting the excellence of the material and the mechanical skill employed.

Mr. Comstock has invested about \$10,000. When in operation, the works will turn out about 10 stoves per day, or about 3,000 per year. They will employ 18 hands. . . . About 300 tons of metal and 60 tons of coal will be required per year. . . . The moulders and mechanics are from Troy, New York—selected from the best foundries by Mr. C, himself—all sober and industrious men, and to appearance will be a desirable addition to our population.

By the next spring the business was at the point where further expansion was necessary. On May 6, 1851, the editor was again conducted through the plant. After this trip, he said:

We had occasion to visit these works [the Phoenix, as the Comstock plant was now called] one day last week, and found our pre-

diction [increased business] verified already. . . . In addition to the foundry building, Mr. Comstock has purchased the large frame building adjoining—formerly occupied as a steam mill—and fitted it up in good style, for a finishing and store room for his stoves—the upper room of which is filled with his manufacture, ready for shipping to other markets.

We went again over the works, and picked up some information that may be of interest to our readers. The building and fixtures are valued at \$12,000. Weekly expenses for labor are about \$225—which is paid every Saturday night. There are 25 hands employed constantly, under the superintendence of Mr. Calib Story. The amount of manufacture yearly will reach \$40,000. In the molders department there are 12 hands employed, all experienced workmen.

The coal for melting the iron is brought from Philadelphia, and the metal from Tennessee, except a portion of Scotch pig, which is procured in New York or New Orleans.

He manufactures 8 different patterns of stoves. . . . The establishment is turning out 14 stoves per day. Under the direction of the cupalo men about 30 hundredweight of metal is made into stove plates every 24 hours. From the melting room the plates are transferred to the cleaning room. In the building adjoining, and dresses off for mounting—from thence to the mounting room, where they are mounted, and present the appearance of stoves beautifully polished, with necessary fixtures, ready for market—all in 24 hours.

The demand for stoves at the present time is greater than the supply. Most of the towns above St. Louis are looking to this market for their supply of stoves.

The industrial census taken in 1854 listed the Phoenix plant as manufacturing 7,000 cooking stoves and 3,000 parlor stoves per year, each having a retail value of \$10.00. The *Whig* for August 18, 1855, stated that the Phoenix had \$25,000 to \$30,000 invested in land, machinery and fixtures; that they used about 7 tons of iron and 2 tons of coal per day, and that they turned out nearly or quite 12,000 stoves per year, three-fourths of which were cooking stoves. They employed at this time between 50 and 60 operatives and their yearly expenses were about \$100,000 per year. This plant con-

tinued to grow and is still manufacturing stoves in Quincy. The river made markets available, and by this time the farmers were well established and had some surplus cash. Stoves were evidently carried in the rural stores, for on a store account of 1858 we find listed along with sugar, flour, molasses, tea and potatoes the item "2 warming stoves—\$10.00."⁸

FOUNDRIES AND SHOPS

The foundry and shop had its origin in the local blacksmith shop or the shop of the handy man. These places made anything within their capacity, but did only custom work. The difference between the shop and the foundry was that the foundry could cast metal, while the shop shaped it but could do no casting.

The earliest example of a shop of this kind was that of George Heberling, four miles east of Quincy on the Burton road. He advertised in the *Whig* of August 18, 1838, that he had two portable threshing machines ready to thresh grain immediately after harvest, and that he made machinery to order, on the most perfect and simple plan that had yet been invented. He also made patterns of all kinds for castings. Another early example is found in the advertisement of D. W. Robinson in the June 27, 1840 issue of the *Whig*. He had recently purchased the screw-cutting taps of Mr. Milner, and was prepared to cut screws from two and one-half inches down to one-half inch. He also advertised that he did turning in all its branches. A shop similar to that was the one of Adams and Worrell, who advertised in the *Whig* for June 11, 1842 that they had machinery to

⁸ Harry L. Wilkey, *The Story of a Little Town; a History of Paloma, Illinois* ([Coatsburg], Ill., 1934), 29.

cast patterns of all descriptions, for mill castings, machine castings, plow castings, hollow ware (pots, kettles, etc.), water pipes, wagon boxes, etc.

As time went on this industry advanced, and in an 1854 paper we read of an engine made by the Greenleaf shop for Allen, Rowland & Company:

We cannot well afford to dismiss the subject without commending particularly—as a piece of work highly commendable to the manufacturer—the fine steam engine the Messrs. Allen, Rowland & Company have in operation. It is from the machine shop of Mr. M. T. Greenleaf of this city, and it cannot be excelled, if equaled. It is of "bright finish"—30 inch stroke—12 inch cylinder—and for power, beauty—and everything that constitutes a good engine—cannot be beaten.

The foundries turned out corn shellers and threshers as their main products. Of these the corn sheller was most important. It deserves a bit of consideration.

The value of ground feed in preparing livestock for market was generally accepted by farmers in the early 1840's, and as a result of this, manufacture of burr mills became active in this decade. Several of the mills were the invention of Quincy men, and were patented by them and manufactured in Quincy. They did not reap the reward that might have been expected, for by the time they were well in operation some other individual had patented an improved mill.

The first burr mill factory of this kind was that of C. Appleton and Company, located on Front Street. This concern manufactured Fitzgerald's Portable Burr Stone Mill and Horse Powers, and Warren's Improved Threshing Machines. The powers were merely treadmills and were suitable for two or four horses. The threshers were a cylinder, with either tooth or spring beater, suspended in a box. The cylinder was powered

by the treadmill, geared to a high ratio to insure a fair speed. This machine knocked the heads from the straw and that was about all, but this of course was far superior to flailing. Another machine was necessary to clean the wheat and remove the chaff. The straw fell to the rear of the box and the stack had to be built by hand. The company had the machines in operation at their place of business for purposes of demonstration, and offered to sell patent rights for their machines in "Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Western Virginia."⁹

Another of these machines was the Improved Portable Corn Mill, patented by Charles Leavitt of Quincy and manufactured by Morgan and Thayer of that city. The improvement here was that the inner cone was stationary and a tongue was attached to the outer cone, whereas the reverse had formerly been the case. This made it easily moved, for the inner cone could be attached to any post or stump. It was advertised for use in shelling corn, grinding and crushing corn and cob together, grinding meal from corn and other grains, crushing roots, grinding bark, mashing apples for cider, and other like purposes. It sold for \$45, whereas according to the advertisement of the firm, all similar machines had sold for no less than \$400. This company enjoyed a vigorous business, selling 1,300 of the machines in the year 1854, at \$25 each.

A third corn mill was that invented by William Zimmerman of Quincy, who first advertised his product in the *Quincy Whig* on October 30, 1854. The Zimmerman machine was an improvement in that the grinding surfaces of the mill revolved three and one-half

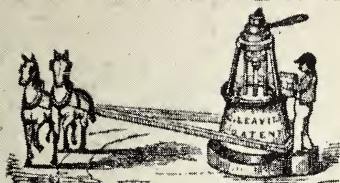
⁹ *Quincy Whig*, April 21, 1847.

times while the horse was completing one circle, and it had the further advantage of removable grinding surfaces, so that they could be resharpened or replaced without disposing of the entire mill. Mr. Zimmerman also at this time announced that he had invented a smut machine that tests had proved to be the best on the market. This machine was used to clean and "scour" wheat before milling. Centrifugal force threw the wheat against the slotted sides of the machine repeatedly.

PLOW, WAGON AND CARRIAGE MANUFACTORY

The manufacture of wagons was common in about every settlement during this period. They were manufactured by craftsmen who made the wooden parts by hand, and either made the iron parts themselves or had a neighboring blacksmith make them. A "wagon factory" in pre-Civil War days did not mean the specialized assembly line production we know today. It meant the shop of some skillful woodworker and blacksmith, who made wagons only to order in most cases and who served only a local market. Carriages were made in much the same way. A. Jonas, located on Fourth Street a few rods south of the brick hotel in Quincy, advertised in the August 18, 1838 issue of the *Quincy Whig* that he was engaged in the carriage-making and painting business. He had on hand a good assortment of pleasure wagons which he would dispose of on reasonable terms. He also offered for sale harness and riding bridles, with or without carriages. The city census of 1854 listed two carriage shops in the city, and stated that they turned out 123 carriages and buggies at an average value of \$175 each. Some of these were very elaborate and very expensive, while others were built for service and were

LEAVITT'S IMPROVED PORTABLE MILL.



THE annexed cut represents a valuable improvement in Portable Mills, adapted to the various Grinding and crushing purposes of a farm, which are now required, and found so profitable in the improved modes of feeding stock. It is the invention of Mr. Charles Leavitt of this city, (Quincy, Illinois) who obtained a Patent thereon, a short time since.

This Mill differs from those of ordinary construction, in having the relative position of the grinding surfaces reversed, that is the external hollow cone, or concave grinder is made to revolve on the inner or convex cone, which is itself stationary, and so formed with an internal cavity, that it may be readily and securely fixed on a post, or any free stump which may stand convenient, and thus all exterior framing, as well as shafts or spindles are entirely dispensed with; and the lever to which the horses are connected for giving motion to the Mill, is attached directly to the concave.

The adjusting apparatus is also simple and effectual, and is worked from above without interfering with the operation of the Mill. By it the Mill is made capable of application to a vast range of purposes, as well as being made to grind coarse or fine, as desired. Among the uses to which this Mill is adapted are the following, viz: shelling corn, grinding or crushing corn and cob together, grinding meal from corn and other grains, crushing roots, grinding bark, mashing apples for cider, and other like purposes.

This form of Mill is so simple in its construction, and so few in its parts, that it can be furnished at a very low price, when the value of the services it performs is considered, and for the same reason it is durable and unlikely to get out of repair.

It is a well known fact among scientific farmers, that one bushel of corn ground, in half two in the ear, to feed hogs or cattle, and will fatten either in one third less time.

The above described Mills are now manufactured and for sale in Quincy, at the low price of Forty Dollars, and will cost the farmer less than one dollar to set up for use, thus enabling every farmer, rich or poor to possess one. It is confidently believed that this Mill will answer practically a better purpose than any mill that has hitherto been made at a cost under four hundred dollars.

For further information, address the Patentee.
aug12-d11-wly

ALLEN & BAKER.
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS in Staple and Fancy Groceries, Liquors and Wines, Wooden and Willow Ware, &c. &c.
3631
South East corner of the Public Square.

BOLIVAR ARCHER.

WOOLEN FACTORY.

One Mile East of Quincy, on the Columbus road.



T. NEAL, Manufacturer of Cloth, respectfully informs his friends and the public generally, that he has machinery of the latest and most approved patterns now in use, for the manu-

facture of
Cloth, Satinets, Jeans, Flannel, Twilled Blankets
Wool Carding, Spinning, Felling and Cloth Dressing, on as reasonable terms and in as good style as can be done at any establishment in the west.
Stocking Yarn, assorted, wholesale or retail. Wool taken in payment for work done. aug2-wly

BISHOP & BOWMANN, BUTCHERS.

STALLS No. 2 and 4, at the Market House. The highest market prices will be paid for Beef Cattle, Calves, Sheep, fat Hogs, &c. Enquire at the Market House, or the Virginia Hotel. aug3-wly

QUINCY PLANING MILL.

ON Delaware, between 5th and 6th streets, Quincy Ill. Builders, Farmers, and others are hereby informed that the proprietors of the above are prepared to dress

FLOORING

in first rate style, by Woodworth's Patent Machine, at six dollars per thousand (lumber yard measure), and as it leaves every plank of the same thickness, enables any person to lay the same.

DRESSED FLOORING

in any quantity, constantly on hand and for sale.
mh29-ly-w

CHASE & WILLIAMS.



DR. M. DOWAY'S APOTHECARY
Shop and Drug Store in Quincy on Hampshire Street, Third House from the north east corner of the Square, contains a general assortment of Drugs and Medicines

Paints, Oils, Dyes-Stuffs, Spices, Groceries, Wines, Liquors, &c. &c.

Best attention paid to all orders for prescriptions. Patent Medicines, of most descriptions always on hand. [jan 1-'53].

S. B. HOFFMAN,

APOTHECARY AND DRUGGIST,

AT THE OLD STAND, WEST SIDE THE PUBLIC SQUARE.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL Dealer in pure
Drugs and Medicines, Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Glazs, Chemicals, Perfumery, and Fancy Articles, agents for all valuable Patent Medicines, and the CANTON TEA COMPANY.

All lovers of choice Teas would do well to purchase of me, because they can be bought for only 50 cents a pound and upwards. I have now thirteen different kinds, all very fragrant and of the most delicious flavor. All articles sold by me are warranted pure, fresh and genuine.

All orders addressed to S. B. Hoffman will receive prompt attention and satisfaction given, or the goods can be returned at our expense. sep16

First West Side of the Public Square.

not so costly or so ornamental.

Plows were manufactured in much the same way as wagons. They were the product of the blacksmith and the woodworker. The steel plow had first been invented in 1838 by John Deere, and had proved to be a real boon to the farmer in breaking the prairie. First cultivation had been in the cleared timber land, for the soil there did not have a tough mass of prairie grass roots to hold it together. The first plows were made of either wood or wood and a cast iron share, and they could not have broken the prairie sod. By 1840 the farmer was ready to break the prairie, and he needed a better plow. An advertisement in the *Whig* for April 25, 1840, stated that J. A. Hedges, eight miles north of Quincy on the Bear Creek road, had commenced the manufacture of plows that were directly calculated for the soil and circumstances of Adams County. He stated that he was determined to keep pace with the age of improvement, and it is quite likely that this was the first plow manufactory in the county. However there could not have been much difference between this shop and that of H. Dills, who on August 1 of the same year advertised in the same paper that he had on hand a number of plows, and that he also made and ironed wagons to order. The Dills establishment evidently prospered, for on June 3, 1846, he advertised again in the *Whig* that he had made for use of the farmers of Adams and adjoining counties 500 superior and concave plows of steel and iron. Dills at this time was still advertising that he made wagons and buggies to order. The two articles seem to have gone together in most cases.

The same issue of the *Whig* also carried the following advertisement concerning plow manufacture:

The subscriber takes this means of informing his friends and the public, that he has commenced, and expects to continue to make WAGONS, BUGGIES and PLOWS, in the neatest and very best style. JOHN MATCHET, who is to superintend all of my business has had the experience of twenty-two years in Kentucky, at the above business, and cannot be surpassed as a workman. If you don't believe it come and see. I will take all kinds of Produce delivered at the market price. Shop at Sixth street, between Main and Hampshire streets, east of the Court House.

JOHN ARCHER.

On May 27, 1853, the editor of the *Whig*, in describing the scene at the wharf, said that among things evident for export were "wagons from Cleveland and Archers, Hayes, and Rogers and Winn, which latter establishment turns out any quantity of plows, and ships them in any quantity of directions." In the industrial census of 1854, there were listed 15 wagon and plow shops in the city. Total manufacture for the year was 1,252 wagons, value \$70 each; 105 carts, value \$40 each; 13 buggies, varying in value; 3,500 plows, value \$8 each; and an unnamed number of harrows and scrapers. In this group the Rogers concern had grown to be a factory, using steam power, but the rest had remained handicraft shops.

DISTILLERIES

In earliest pioneer times the settler made whisky from his corn. The corn was bulky to handle, and if distilled into liquor there was much less bulk. Furthermore, the pioneer seems always to have kept a good supply on hand and used it as a beverage. Every little hamlet and settlement had its distillery, and in many instances the farmer had his own. Such an apparatus is well described in the advertisement of S. C. Rogers in the *Whig* for October 10, 1840:

FOR SALE—*A Bargain*—a sett of Copper Stills, and tubbs, and all the aparatus for stilling; apply to S. C. Rogers.

An ideal location for such a still is described in an advertisement in the *Whig* appearing March 26, 1853:

A former mill located on 53 acres of ground, one mile south of Quincy, with a never failing stream of good pure water for distilling and for power, is offered for sale by F. K. Besure. A one story frame building housed the mill, and could easily be converted into a distillery.

Not all of the whisky made in the county was from such small and primitive stills, however. Just when com-merical manufacture started in Quincy cannot be ascertained, but in March, 1841, the Whitney distillery was destroyed by fire. Several hundred bushels of corn were lost. If that was all the supply on hand, the plant was probably not very big and may have been only for local demand.¹⁰ The editor of the *Whig* faithfully mentioned the development of every new industry, but nothing is said of distilleries until March 11, 1846. On that date he had taken one of his strolls, and writing it up he said:

The Messrs. Miller and Brothers are completing a very extensive establishment at this point, larger perhaps than any other of its kind in the state. . . . The main building is of brick, four stories in height, with other buildings attached, in which are comprised a flouring mill, saw mill, oil mill, distillery, cooper shop, granary for corn, pig pens, etc., etc. The mills and machinery are propelled by an engine of sufficient power located in the basement story. . . . The distillery was in full operation when we were looking on, and the way the whisky was running out of the cooling apparatus would make our friend Fairchild of the Springfield Washingtonian sigh from the bottom of his heart. The proprietors contemplate, when fully under way, to distill from 600 to 800 gallons of whisky per day, which will require for daily consumption from 150 to 250 bushels of corn.

¹⁰ *Quincy Whig*, March 20, 1841.

Tillson wrote that in 1856 the biggest distillery, and also one of the largest plants in the city, was that of Thayers. Their plant was valued at \$30,000 and they annually used 300,000 bushels of grain. They paid \$12,500 annually to coopers; \$4,500 to woodchoppers (probably this was for fuel); \$8,000 to employees; and there was capacity for feeding 2,000 hogs and about 1,000 head of cattle on the by-products. This whisky was barreled—apparently none was bottled—and its chief market was New Orleans.

WOODWORKING INDUSTRIES

One of the earliest local industries was that of the coopers. Using native timber for the most part, they made barrels, casks, tierces and kegs for the flour, pork and whisky industries of Quincy. They cut the timber into staves, and after they were seasoned they were bound together with strips of tough bark. Their shops might be located anywhere that timber was available, and as early as 1830 or 1835 Enos Thompson and his two brothers and seven grown sons, who lived twenty miles east of Quincy on Honey Creek, were regularly hauling barrels to the Quincy brewers, millers and packers.¹¹ Since these barrels and kegs were the only form of packaging during most of the period, the demand was great. In 1854 the industrial census listed 21 cooper shops in Quincy, 2 using steam power, and producing the following for the year: hogsheads, 2,270 at \$2.00 each; beef tierces, 1,050 at \$1.75 each; pork and lard tierces, 3,700 at \$1.40 each; flour barrels, 55,400 at 40 cents each; pork barrels, 10,750 at \$1.10 each; whisky barrels, 14,550 at \$1.20 each; lard kegs, 600 at

¹¹ Wilkey, *Story of a Little Town*, 15-16.

60 cents each.

Another of the early woodworking industries was that of the cabinet maker. J. S. Funk advertised in the *Quincy Argus* for December 12, 1840, that he had commenced the cabinet business on the southeast corner of the public square, opposite Captain Kelley's new brick building, and was ready to execute all orders either from city or country. He intended to keep on hand: sideboards, dining tables, washstands, cupboards, bureaus, breakfast tables, workstands, bookcases and bedsteads of every description, all of which he intended to sell as cheap as any in the city. He pledged himself that his furniture would be made of first rate material, and also in a workmanlike manner. He advertised that he had in stock some curled maple and black walnut of superior quality, and he flattered himself that by strict attention to business and a determination to please all, he would get a share of public patronage.

Planing machines were coming into use by the latter part of the period. We read in the *Whig* for May 22, 1854, that Allen, Rowland & Company had put into operation a set of planing, tonguing and grooving machinery of the latest style, and were prepared to dress up and finish all kinds of lumber to the entire satisfaction of all interested. They manufactured sash, blinds, doors, molding and in fact all kinds of dressed lumber. The plant was powered by the steam engine made by the Greenleaf foundry, mentioned earlier.

It is evident that the local supplies of lumber did not meet the demand, for the *Whig* carried a news item in the April 29, 1851 issue which stated:

Rafts of pine lumber are beginning to arrive from above. Our lumber yards are quite bare of the article. If the river continues at

the present stage for a few weeks longer, supplies may be expected to any extent. The river is falling slowly.

LEATHER WORKING INDUSTRIES

During the two decades under examination this industry was mostly a household and workshop craft. One of the earliest of the shops was that of J. Craig, who advertised in the *Whig* for November 3, 1838, that he kept on hand a good assortment of leather, shoemakers' findings, tanners' oil, hair for plastering, etc. He advertised that he would pay cash for hides.

Two saddlers and harness makers were advertising for business in the early part of the period. A. Segar, Jr. advertised in the September 8, 1838 issue of the *Whig* that all orders for saddles and harness would be "thankfully received and promptly attended to." In the same notice he stated that he was seeking an apprentice. James Hewlett advertised in the same paper for October 17, 1840, that he had commenced the saddlery, harness and trunkmaking business on the north side of the public square next door to the social hall, and that his prices were as low as any other establishment in the state and his materials were of the best eastern variety. He offered to take country produce in payment for his goods. By 1854 there were two large saddle and harness shops in the city, making harness at \$18 per set and saddles at \$10 each.

The only shoe business advertised was that of A. Konantz, who announced his opening in the August 22, 1840 issue of the *Whig*. The shop also mended boots and shoes to order. In 1840 the census listed one large boot and shoe establishment in the city and six small ones. Ladies' and children's shoes were \$1.25 per pair and men's boots worth \$6.00 per pair.

CONCLUSION

Certain characteristics are common to all these industries. They rested on the resources at hand, or relied on the farmer for raw material. They employed much manual labor per unit of output, and the Taylor technique of scientific management was unknown. There was little transportation involved in assembling the raw materials, and waterways offered the chief transportation for finished goods. Organization was simple, being either a single proprietorship or a partnership, with the corporate form almost unknown in industry. Financing was local and credits did not rest on such elaborate structures as they do today. Power was furnished by steam for the most part, or, in small shops, by horse, ox, or water power. Labor enjoyed a sellers' market, so wage disputes and unions were unknown.

The infant industries that have been discussed were located in Quincy and Adams County. However, they illustrate pre-Civil War industry in most of Illinois at that time. Stoves and large-scale distilling are possible exceptions. These were conditions that prevailed as the Industrial Revolution was gaining its first momentum on the secondary frontier. Large scale production and complex organization of today had their genesis in these crude manufactories, and to understand economic problems of the day we must study these origins. By the light of the past is the present illuminated.

THE WELSH PEOPLE IN CHICAGO*

BY JAY MONAGHAN

THE Welsh people are seldom considered foreigners. They emigrated to America at such an early date, and Welsh names—Jones, Davies, Llewellyn, Williams, Lloyd—are borne by so many families which have been in America for half a dozen generations, that Welsh characteristics might be considered American-Colonial characteristics. Welsh seamen, according to one tradition, discovered America before the days of Columbus; the captain of the *Mayflower* was named Jones; America's first radical freethinker, Roger Williams, and Benjamin Harris, founder of America's first newspaper in 1679, were also Welshmen; Thomas Jefferson and the Lees of Virginia are said to have been of Welsh descent, as were seventeen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.¹ Yet in spite of this early and continuous admixture of Welsh blood into the American population, a study of the Welsh-born citizens of Chicago shows them to be a distinct group whose contributions to the culture of the city have been entirely different from those of the Irish, Germans, or Poles.

Before coming to America, the Welsh people were miners and farmers. In politics they were Liberals,

* The author is indebted to the W.P.A. Foreign Language Project for the source materials used in preparing this article.

¹ *Welshmen in America's Making* (n.p., n.d.); J. V. Morgan, *The Cambro-American Pulpit* (New York, 1898), 64-65.

definitely opposed to the vested coal interests and Tory landlords. In Wales, filching game from the big estates became almost a patriotic avocation, and Lloyd George boasted that he first gained prominence as a barrister defending poachers. The Welsh miners formed one of the most powerful labor unions in Great Britain, influential in initiating social legislation and the abolition of the House of Lords' veto power. Americans call such men Progressives and Reformers—perhaps Radicals.

In religion the Welsh have been nonconformists, deeply influenced by the Methodist movement against the cold formality of the established Church of England. In the middle of the Eighteenth Century they eschewed dancing, and attended revival meetings with fervor. On great ministers they bestowed honors, and found comfort and happiness singing hymns in great open air meetings. Guided by the emotional preaching of Whitfield and the Wesleys, Welsh religious tradition is equally indebted to George Frederick Handel, a German playwright and composer who by coincidence happened to be in England and financially embarrassed when the Methodist Movement needed a great choir leader. Handel oratorios were soon sung under the direction of fervent preachers in natural amphitheatres in the Cambrian Hills around every coal pit in Wales; sung by thousands of coal-grimed miners, hillmen hopelessly suppressed by industrialism finding self-expression in grand choirs; singing with such enthusiasm that the tradition of singing a hundred years later would come to America with all Welshmen, influencing the life in our great cities.

At the time of their emigration to Chicago, it was

said, Welsh "miners, farmers, skilled and unskilled workmen discuss with considerable ability such questions as the nature of the soul, the origin of evil." According to the Reverend J. V. Morgan, able Welsh historian, his people "dislike theatres, sports and races. . . . They are impulsive . . . and have a tendency to be obstinate . . . envious and vindictive; more religious than moral."² Their history in the city divides itself into three periods; immigration and settlement; international recognition during the World's Fair; and the period of conservative prosperity and assimilation since the turn of the century.

I.

A common religion held the first immigrants together. As early as 1844 they gathered in private homes in Chicago for Methodist services in Welsh. In the spring of 1850 a room for the congregation was rented at the corner of Randolph and Canal streets. A year later a church was built³ and supported by the scant wages of young women in service. In 1864 a permanent pastor was employed. During the next quarter-century the Welsh population increased in the city and by the close of the Eighties three Welsh churches had been established—Sardis, Bethany and Humboldt Park Union. The latter, non-denominational, was founded in 1888 by some twenty members.⁴

Then a strange thing happened. The Welsh Methodists in Chicago discovered to their amazement that in America they were not Methodists at all but Presby-

² Morgan, *The Cambro-American Pulpit*, 51, 56.

³ *A Brief History of Hebron Presbyterian Church* (Chicago, n.d.).

⁴ Interview note from David J. Evans in files of Chicago W.P.A. Foreign Language Project.

terians—an unpleasant revelation for a devout people. The confusion seems to have occurred in the following manner. The Methodist church, organized simultaneously in England and America by Wesley and Whitfield, had developed differently on opposite sides of the ocean. With the American Revolution came a definite schism and Welsh Calvinism lived in America with the Presbyterians instead of with the Methodist followers of Francis Asbury. But in spite of creedal differences the Welsh people in Chicago seemed reluctant to change the name of their church, and although the United States Welsh Presbyterians held a convention in Chicago in 1877,⁵ Welsh Chicagoans remained independent until after the World's Fair.

Prior to the World's Columbian Exposition, which marked the Welsh-American's heyday, their colony in Chicago had never been comparable with similar settlements in Wilkesbarre, Scranton, and Pittsburgh, for Welsh immigrants naturally congregated at the coal towns—a nostalgia, no doubt, for the environment they understood. In Chicago they had been unnoticed among the Irish immigrants, and the newspapers expressed surprise on discovering their real numbers at the time of the fire.⁶ In 1872 five relief employment bureaus in the city reported over a hundred dispossessed Welsh families, in spite of the fact that the principal settlement had not been burned. At this time Chicago had a large Welsh literary and choral society,⁷ semi-religious in character, which met weekly; it opened with prayer, practiced choral singing, and debated such pertinent subjects as: "Is the maintenance of the Welsh language

⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 22, 1877.

⁶ *Chicago Times*, Oct. 19, 1872.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1872.

a hindrance to the social advancement of the Welsh people?"

In addition to such friendly competition, the society added, in 1872, new features—an employment bureau for Welsh immigrants and club rooms for young people's recreation. These early cultural and benevolent activities laid the foundations of future prominence for many Welsh Chicagoans, notably Jenkin Lloyd Jones, first president of the Chicago Browning Society, an independent in religion, and a lecturer at the University of Chicago. It was largely through his efforts that funds were subscribed in 1882 for All Souls Church and Lincoln Center, a church and settlement house patterned after the earlier Welsh choral society. Jenkin Lloyd Jones became pastor and director.

In politics, before the World's Fair, Welsh-Americans were Republican almost to a man. A Welshman voting any other ticket was considered "queer"⁸ by his countrymen. A list of representative Welsh-Chicagoans shows only two in other parties; of these Jenkin Lloyd Jones alone is listed as independent. The Whig philosophy of unrestricted commerce, business and laissez-faire—Republican principles in America—seems to have been deeply ingrained in these Liberal Dissenters from the Cambrian Hills. The political purity of the Welsh people, according to unconfirmed tradition, so impressed Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, that he sent to Chicago for a certain livery stable keeper named Jones to whom he disclosed the apparent treachery of his Democratic generals. Then confidentially he asked the stableman if Grant, a horse lover known to Jones, could be trusted with high command.

⁸ Interview note from George Williams in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

Another Jones, Mr. J. W. Jones, wrote a Republican history of the Civil War in 1866—631 pages published at Utica, New York, by J. Mather Jones. Partisan enthusiasm tinted the productions also of Jenkin Lloyd Jones whose research led him to believe that Abraham Lincoln had Welsh blood in his veins.⁹

Following the Civil War the Welsh people prospered in the chaos of war debts and reconstruction. Adhering from the beginning, to the money party, the urban industrialists, they showed no sympathy for greenback "paper inflation" and agrarian minorities. They were miners—workers in hard rock and metal. They believed in gold.

Republican principles were so firmly fixed in these industrious people that even a hard-money, Wall Street Democrat like Grover Cleveland was looked upon with disfavor, and in 1887 a delegation delivered an outspoken greeting to him in the Welsh language on his arrival in Chicago. This greeting, which Cleveland probably did not understand, might have been translated into English as, "We heartily unite to extend to our worthy President a hearty welcome. . . though as he well knows, the majority of our nationality is not of the same political faith as our worthy President."¹⁰ When William Jennings Bryan, in an effort to increase the price of farm commodities, attempted to substitute silver inflation for inflation in greenbacks the Welsh were adamant. An extremely practical people not impressed by the Great Commoner's vague and poetical threat of crucifixion on a cross of gold, they voted for a full Republican dinner pail.

⁹ Jenkin Lloyd Jones, *Nancy Hanks Lincoln, A Sermon* (Chicago, 1903), 13.

¹⁰ *Chicago Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1887.

II.

The World's Fair of 1893 has been referred to as the first convincing demonstration of the success of urbanization in the agricultural midlands. To the Welsh, coming from an industrialized, instead of a rural homeland like other immigrants, the Fair presented a unique opportunity to display their abilities as organizers and promoters. Years before the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition, prominent Welshmen were planning to take part. Leading the movement was a Welsh-English publication, the *Columbia*,¹¹ established at Emporia, Kansas in 1888. This newspaper was moved to Chicago in 1891¹² where it flourished under the ownership of J. W. Jones, with M. A. Ellis as editor, until the closing of the World's Fair when it was absorbed by *Yr Drych* ("The Mirror"), a Utica, New York paper published since 1851.

Aiding the *Columbia* in its World's Fair campaign, was the Welsh National Cymrodorian Society—"true hearted sons and daughters of Wales"—founded by Messrs. Powell, Smith, Apmadoc, Samuel Job, and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. On May 18, 1891, a Welsh committee requested that the director general of the Fair set aside a week for the Welsh people when national games might be played and national bands compete. For this precursor of the Olympic games the committee offered \$30,000 in prizes.¹³

Welsh week was to be celebrated as an international *Eisteddfod*, a competitive musical congress popularly observed in the land of Merlin since the dawn of history.

¹¹ *Album of Genealogy and Biography, Cook County, Illinois* (8th ed., Chicago, 1897), 298.

¹² *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 19, 1891.

¹³ *Chicago Daily News*, May 19, 1891.

At these competitions in Wales, prizes had been offered for ballads, literary compositions, and recitations, and the winners were crowned as "Bards." In the British Isles two years before the opening of the Fair¹⁴ 10,000 pamphlets were distributed, advertising the proposed musical convention in America. In Chicago, a year later, the Welsh National Cymrodorian Society organized a choir and rehearsed for the competition. At a banquet in the Grand Pacific Hotel, in February, 1892, Samuel Job, Jenkin Lloyd Jones and other prominent Welshmen offered toasts to "The Cymrodorian and the International *Eisteddfod* of 1893," and "The World's Columbian Exposition."¹⁵

To conduct the singing, William Madoc—a poet, musician, and composer—came from Utica, New York. Professor Madoc was a man with proud carriage and long hair curling on his shoulders. "He is beautiful as Buffalo Bill,"¹⁶ people said of him. From his compatriots he received the honorary title of Ap, and Apmadoc is the surname carried by his sons in Chicago in 1939.

Although there was some recrimination in the promotion of this international affair, Welsh genius for organization proved stronger than Welsh combativeness, and on September 5, 1893, there were 2,500 spectators assembled in Festival Hall for the opening day of an international contest between fifteen singing teams, representing many localities in the United States and four counties in Wales.¹⁷

When the spectators at this novel contest satisfied

¹⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1891.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1892.

¹⁶ Interview note from Mrs. William B. Crane in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

¹⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1891; *Chicago Times*, Sept. 5, 1893.

their initial curiosity, attendance dropped off and the second day's performance "was only fairly well attended."¹⁸ Most of the prizes, which aggregated \$12,500, were awarded to Americans, but the contestants from Wales received their share. Much interest centered in the contest between four choruses of 250 voices each, for a prize of \$5,000.¹⁹ "The audience . . . was not only the largest of the . . . season, but it was by far the biggest that festival hall has ever been called on to accommodate,"²⁰ the *Times* reported on the last day of the *Eisteddfod*.

Welsh interest in choral singing was paralleled by a movement for world religious unity—a chorus of religions—and Jenkin Lloyd Jones, having helped promote the international *Eisteddfod* in 1891, became Secretary of the World's Parliament of Religions in 1892. A year later, with the opening of the Fair, he organized the Congress of Religions, an *Eisteddfod* of creeds open to Babists, Brahmans, Buddhists, Christians, Mahdists, Mohammedans, Parsees, Shintoists, Taoists, Yogists, Zoroastrians, and even to "dirty heathens." The Congress convened with the solemn cadence: "Before Jehovah's awful throne,"²¹ a hymn by Isaac Watts cherished in Wales for almost two hundred years. Religious unity was augmented further by a monthly magazine, *Yr Ymdrechydd* ("Christian Endeavor"), published in Welsh and English in 1892—the same year that Amos R. Wells became editor of the better known *Christian Endeavor World*, an outgrowth of the *Golden*

¹⁸ *Chicago Times*, Sept. 7, 1893.

¹⁹ *Album of Genealogy, Cook County, Ill.*, 298.

²⁰ *Chicago Times*, Sept. 5 and 9, 1893.

²¹ *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893*, edited by Rossiter Johnson (New York, 1898), IV: 226-27.

Rule in Boston.²² Thanks to the Welsh, the hog-butcher city of the West was not behind the Hub in accepting the Christian Endeavor movement which, during the next decade, was to sweep around the world. In this connection, too, it is notable that Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in Chicago, founded All Souls Church—a significant name—the same year that the Christian Endeavor Society held its first national convention in Maine.

As a leader in liberal religious movements Jenkin Lloyd Jones is remembered in Chicago as a man of resource, always a match for the orthodox fundamentalists of his epoch. The manner in which he outwitted two professional apostles of Moody and Sankey, in 1894, seems to indicate that no ordinary Americans had any business competing with a Welshman.

In this instance, the great divine, flushed with his recent successes at the World's Fair, was called upon to preside at a Bricklayer's Hall meeting to organize mankind, rich and poor, into a Modern Church. On arriving at the hall he found no preparations for his coming. The congregation stood in the street and the janitor refused to open the doors without a rental guarantee. Jenkin Lloyd Jones immediately took things in hand, went surety for the lease, and despatched a messenger post haste for musicians from Moody Institute, nearby. The Moody evangelists came on the run prepared to fight old-fashioned hell-fire. After getting the audience into a receptive, emotional frame of mind, they were amazed and chagrined to hear the "new" sermon. The text, taken from the fortieth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew, was interpreted by the resourceful Welshman as the basis for a modern church

²² F. E. Clark, *Christian Endeavor in all Lands* (Chicago, 1906), 118; F. E. Clark, *Memories of Many Men in Many Lands* (Boston, 1922), 97.

which, he said, would contain a reading and writing room with tables for games, bathrooms, a gymnasium and bowling alley. There would be no pastor, no collection, and seats would be free. "The possibilities of the new church," Jenkin Lloyd Jones concluded, "were almost beyond the power of description. It would make the millionaire and the beggar equal."²³

In social as well as religious endeavor the little colony of 5,000 Welshmen contributed an outstanding intellectual leader who made Chicago and Chicago's culture famous throughout the world.

III.

During the years following the World's Fair the Welsh people in Chicago attained a position of conservative prosperity. Although the weekly *Columbia* disappeared after its consolidation with the *Utica Yr Drych*, to the surviving newspaper John T. Jones²⁴ remained as correspondent for a generation, writing a weekly column on the activities of Welsh Chicagoans. From 1895 to 1897 the *Adlais Rhyddid* ("Echo of Freedom") was published in the city. A new newspaper, *The Druid*, founded in Pittsburgh in 1899, carried weekly columns on the activities of Welsh Chicagoans contributed by Ap Trevor Jones, a painting and decorating contractor in the city who was also prominent as a conductor of *Eisteddfods*.²⁵

After the turn of the century the prosperity and race consciousness of the Welsh people were reflected in their local church activities. The three independent congre-

²³ *Chicago Record*, Feb. 12, 1894.

²⁴ 1418 N. Central Park Avenue, Chicago.

²⁵ Interview note from Ap Trevor Jones, Jr. in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

gations of Bethany, Sardis, and Humboldt Park began to feel the need of alliances with national church organizations. Being thoroughly convinced that their Old World Methodist creed was more similar to American Presbyterianism than to American Methodism, an appeal for funds was made by the members of Bethany Church to the followers of John Knox.

In October, 1900, the Wisconsin Presbyterian Synod meeting at Hebron, Wisconsin, passed resolutions inviting Bethany's pastor to plead for financial help among the Wisconsin congregations. The contributions collected were augmented by a loan with the result that a new church, Hebron Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, costing \$36,000, was completed in 1902. This church, still clinging to the name of Methodist, became the largest Welsh church in the city, absorbing the congregations of both Bethany and Sardis. The mortgage was paid off by 1909 and in a special service held to celebrate the event, three widows of former deacons burned the cancelled notes in a large dish placed on the pulpit.²⁶

Contemporarily with the material advancement of Hebron's congregation, the Humboldt Park congregation voted, in 1902, to go in debt for a new church and lot. This mortgage was paid off in 1907.²⁷ By 1913 Chicago had three Welsh churches; Hebron, Humboldt Park and South Side Welsh Presbyterian—all holding services in 1939. In the Humboldt Park Church, David J. Evans, a plastering contractor, held the position of musical director for over forty-six years. The Welsh churches generally conduct one service a month in English. Special services are held on March 1 in honor of

²⁶ *History of Hebron Presbyterian Church*, 5.

²⁷ Letter from David J. Evans, Feb. 25, 1937 in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

Dafydd, patron saint of Wales.²⁸

The desire for organization and unity of action expressed in choirs and religious congresses, has been gratified by the Welsh people through membership in orders and lodges. As a people they are "joiners," and true to their Whigamore traditions, are well represented in Masonic orders. More than half of the thirty Welsh-born Chicagoans listed in *Who's Who* belong to that order. Although statistics are not available for a conclusive statement, most Welshmen seem to prefer the Mystic Shriners who at times march through Chicago streets wearing red fezzes and tossing confetti into the faces of the curious. The more dour Scottish Rites Consistory which attracted Washington and the Fathers, does not seem to appeal so heartily to the men from Wales.

In addition to Masonic orders, many Welshmen in Chicago are members of three strong national lodges; the Cambrian Benevolent Society, the American True Order of Ivorites, and the Kymry Lodge. The Cambrian Society, organized to provide for needy Welsh people and to assure them a decent burial, is said to be the oldest Welsh benevolent organization in Chicago. In 1939 it had 2,500 members,²⁹ or almost half the Welsh population in the city.³⁰

The second oldest Welsh society in Chicago, the Ivorites, founded in 1893 when many Welsh people from all over the United States met for the international *Eisteddfod*, is a sick-benefit and burial association,³¹ hav-

²⁸ *Welshmen in America's Making; Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 29, 1892.

²⁹ Interview with George Williams in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

³⁰ *Chicago Record Herald*, May 29, 1913 stated that 4,686 Welshmen lived in the city, of whom 1,818 were born abroad.

³¹ Interview notes with George Williams and J. T. Jones in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

ing 200 members. The lodge name refers to the benevolent twelfth century Welshman, Ivor, and the Chicago chapter bears the name of the composer and choir leader, William Madoc.

The Kymry Society, social in function, was organized in 1906³² for "the advancement of literature and music." Kymry holds meetings every month during the winter. Membership is restricted to people of Welsh descent, their husbands and wives. To young women, membership is free until they are married; to young men, until they are twenty-one. For a time Kymry met at Lincoln Center where Jenkin Lloyd Jones presided.³³ Later the meeting place was changed to the parlors of the Auditorium Hotel, where papers were read on such topics as "The Cymry as American Citizens," and "The Welsh American as a Commercial Financier." The members still professed their ancient love of music, but it seems that the Welsh people were not what they used to be for at the January meeting of Kymry in 1913 it was announced that the violinist would be Mr. Kozakiewicz.³⁴

During the period of prosperity following the year 1900, the Welsh seem to have displayed the characteristics chronicled by the Reverend J. V. Morgan, who said his people had produced the chief soloists, choral singers and preachers of the world, but no scientists, no speculative or agnostic literature. "No one claims that Welsh can ever become the language of commerce or of science," he continued; "it is deficient in technical terms. It is essentially the language of poetry, music and religion. Beyond these, it cannot go."³⁵

³² MS of D. Charles Harries in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

³³ *Chicago Record Herald*, Jan. 2, 1908.

³⁴ MS of D. Charles Harries in files of W.P.A. Project, Chicago.

³⁵ Morgan, *The Cambro-American Pulpit*, 51.

True to these characteristics Welsh contributions to the culture of the city during the last generation have been strictly material and evangelical. Unlike the Irish, the Welsh have shown little desire for political preferment, and professional men are scarce in the group. Only a small minority of the Welsh people seem to have shown an interest in natural sciences. The exceptions are: Charles Davies Davis, one time assistant secretary and auditor of the Field Museum; David Charles Davis, director of the Museum; and Llewellyn Williams, botanist in the institution.

As executives of big enterprises, contractors and builders, the Welsh have been pre-eminent, and many of Chicago's buildings are the work of these practical people. The blackboards at the University of Chicago and the roof at Cobb Hall were supplied by a Chicago firm founded by a Welshman, John Jones. The Reginald J. Davis Company, a Welsh contracting firm, constructed the Railway Exchange Building, the First National Bank Building, Marshall Field's Annex and the Heyworth Building. The South Chicago Steel Mills were designed by Welshmen. The vice-president of the International Harvester Company in 1902, Frank J. Llewellyn, was born in Wales. The International Iron and Steel Company has been controlled by the Paul Llewellyn family for three generations. Marshall Field's president and general manager, Arthur Davis, who gave his name to the Davis Store, was born to Welsh immigrants near the coal pits in Ohio.³⁶

Next to contracting, building, and working in metals, the pulpit has offered the most attractive field for Welsh endeavor since 1900. In religion as in politics

³⁶ *Chicago Evening Post*, March 16, 1929.

these dissenters present a united front, remaining like their forebears, almost exclusively Presbyterian. A third of the Welsh Chicagoans listed in *Who's Who* are ministers. Only one was an Episcopalian, and he turned Catholic. This individualist was the only Democrat in the group. The only independent in both politics and religion was Jenkin Lloyd Jones, founder of the settlement house at 700 East Oakwood Boulevard—Lincoln Center. The founder's nephew, Frank Lloyd Wright, planned the building, and gossip says that Welsh independence clashed with Welsh artistic temperament during construction. Certainly the completed structure, which might be mistaken for a warehouse, shows no external evidence of the great artist's skill. Only one room, the chapel, has the obtuse angles, plane surfaces and oblique lighting effects characteristic of the architect. Probably very little of the building, as finally completed, was the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. Across the blueprint of the plans, in a bold hand, he has written disapproval.

Frank Lloyd Wright, himself born in Wisconsin to Welsh parents, may well be considered a Welsh contributor to the culture not only of Chicago but of the world. "Wright houses" may be recognized instantly by anyone familiar with the artist's original style. The architect first received international renown planning the earthquake-proof Imperial Hotel in Japan. Strangely enough no credit for this original structure has been given to Frank Lloyd Wright's Welsh background—to his mining ancestors who for hundreds of years understood the bracing and cross-bracing required to resist tremors of the earth's crust when honeycombed with shafts and tunnels. The architect's instinct, his sym-

pathy with bedrock principles, is revealed in his own statement, that a building cannot be wrong if constructed with the rock found on the lot. People acquainted with mining architecture find the outlines of his buildings strangely familiar. His rooms are either shaft-like, high and narrow, or low and flat like a tunnel. His doorways are built under overhanging ledges, his floors and ceilings resemble miners' "foot walls" and "hang walls," and his fireplaces are "faces" opened for the miner's drill. The angles and planes of stratified rock appear in every room and alcove, and the lighting effects are either the unrestricted brilliance of all outdoors or the narrow shafts of light cast by a miner's head lamp. If, as some believe, Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture will revolutionize buildings throughout the world, the Welsh people may count him as their greatest contributor to a new culture.

Next to architecture and building, music is unquestionably the Welsh people's most permanent contribution to the culture of Chicago. Following the traditional role of Professor William Apamadoc as oratorio composer and leader of great choirs, Daniel Protheroe after 1900 probably did as much or more than the Columbian Exposition to make Chicago famous throughout the musical world. As a youth Protheroe had been crowned as the "Bard" at an *Eisteddfod* in South Wales. In 1886, at the age of twenty, he came to America. Six years later, when William Madoc left Utica, New York, for the singing contest at the World's Fair, young Protheroe was conducting the Cymrodorian choir in Scranton. The musical traditions of Chicago soon attracted him to Lake Michigan and in the years that followed he rose to world-wide eminence as a teacher of music, a

choir leader, and composer of songs and anthems. His Welsh song book, *Nodau Damweiniol*, contains the religious songs of his people. Protheroe's original compositions are both religious and secular. Among the latter are lyrics such as "The Sea Maidens," "The Mountain Rill," "The Pirate"—a dashing chorus for boys—and one with modern touch entitled "A Pep Song."³⁷ Of course the author was a Republican, a Mason and a Presbyterian. In addition, Protheroe directed the Bell Telephone Female Choir, the Central Church Male Choir and a choir in Milwaukee. Yearly he returned to Wales to conduct great choruses in an open air amphitheatre in the Cambrian Hills where it is said that five to ten thousand people took part.

Another Welsh-born Chicagoan, A. J. Llewellyn, combined Welsh genius for organization with his native love of music. Born in 1865 in Rhos, near Cardiff, Wales, he came to Chicago in 1898, married one of the students in the three-year-old Sherwood School and soon rose to a position of responsibility in the institution. In 1911, on the death of William H. Sherwood, he was made its vice-president and general manager.³⁸

Unlike choral singing, creative literature has not been a field where Welsh-born Chicagoans may display their flair for organization. Builders and executives of the greatest industrialized civilization on the face of the globe, they have not emotionalized the scaffolds and the muck, and have stood apart from the rough individualistic school of young Chicago literati. The mighty marvels of industrialism which awed the agricultural minds of literary Americans, were a century old

³⁷ *Catalogue Boston Music Company* (n.p., n.d.), 36.

³⁸ *Chicago Evening American*, March 16, 1929.

to Welsh immigrants. They achieved success easily in the smoke of a familiar environment, but to them literature was not an exposition of life as they saw it, but an escape—a liberation from the mine.

Examples of the simple, descriptive and poetical works of the Welsh-born Chicagoans are: *Two Years in the Regions of Icebergs*, by Frederick E. J. Lloyd, published in 1865, and *Idylls of the Beautiful*, by Thomas J. Morrison, published in 1909. Among Jenkin Lloyd Jones's best known works are: *The Faith That Makes The Faithful* (with William G. Gannett), *Practical Piety* and *Nuggets From a Welsh Mine*.

This summary of Welsh contributions to the culture of Chicago indicates that these constructive people have been contractors and builders far out of proportion to their numbers in the city. As workers in real property, they have belonged almost exclusively to the conservative, steady element in the city's life. Radicals in orthodox England, they have been Conservatives in America. Sturdy and energetic, inured to Old World discipline, undismayed as immigrants by the petty tyrannies imposed upon domestic servants, they have borne with equal fortitude the exacting tyrannies which convention-ridden employees impose on great executives. Materialists always, they have been pioneers, miners, builders, during America's formative period. Easily assimilated but tenaciously holding to their native language, Chicago knows them as practical men—builders and singers.

FRANK EVERETT STEVENS

January 5, 1856–October 16, 1939

BY PAUL M. ANGLE

MANY times during the seven years of Frank E. Stevens' residence in Springfield I heard bystanders ask: "Who is that man?" The question was a natural one, for he stood out notably from the mine run of humanity. Any casual passer-by could see that he was advanced in years, but any casual passer-by could also see that he walked with the quick, springy step of a young man, and spoke with a voice that rang with an enthusiasm which few carry beyond middle age.

Although I had long been familiar with his writings, I did not meet Frank E. Stevens until 1932, when he invited me to participate in an historical meeting at DeKalb. I went expecting to find him an old man. Instead, I found a small, wiry individual who impressed one as anything but old. He simply emanated vitality. The day was overcast and cold—the meeting was held outdoors—but Frank E. Stevens made a speech so full of interest and zest that not one single listener strayed away. And he was then seventy-five years of age!

A few months later he came to Springfield as head of the War Records Division in the office of the Adjutant General. The work was new to him, but he plunged into it as eagerly as a new college graduate pitches into his

first job. Needless to say, he filled the position admirably.

Frank E. Stevens was happy in his work during these last few years of his life, and he was happy in his surroundings. He liked Springfield. He liked association with his old friend "Bert" Fay, the custodian of the Lincoln Monument; he found pleasure in the companionship of the members of the Collectors' Club; he reveled in the library facilities which the state capital afforded. He would have been incredulous had anyone ever told him that newcomers often found Springfield a cold, indifferent city. In his deep, essential modesty he never realized that Springfield was a friendly city because he himself possessed one of the greatest of all gifts—the capacity of arousing almost universal affection.

In Springfield he continued to indulge in one of the avocations which he had pursued throughout the greater part of his life—the collection of historical materials. The collector's urge, or instinct, or mania—call it what you will—was too strong in him to be denied. If a rare pamphlet was offered for sale within his means, the desire to possess it generally overcame the resolutions of self-denial which he, like every book-buyer, was always making. He knew that his indulgence was slightly absurd when viewed in the cold light of reason, for at best he had only a few years in which to enjoy his possessions. "Buying books at my age!" he used to exclaim. "Jeepers creepers!" But when the new purchase came all regret vanished in the sheer pleasure of possession. Many men have yielded to the lure of books, but I doubt if any ever found more wholehearted joy in their ownership than Frank E. Stevens.

In Springfield, too, he had time to indulge another

long-standing avocation—historical research and writing. Much of the work on his paper, "A Forgotten Hero: General James Dougherty Henry,"¹ was done after his removal to Springfield, while his last historical writing, "Hazelwood, its Master and its Coterie,"² was entirely the product of his years of residence at the state capital. But while Springfield gave him the leisure and opportunity to write, it exacted a heavy price from him. His biography of John C. Calhoun lay in manuscript form in his office at the Illinois State Arsenal when fire destroyed the building in a few hours. He had made no other copy, so his work, just completed, was irretrievably lost.

Mr. Stevens' interest in history was not confined to the printed or written record of the past. The scenes of events interested him hardly less than the events themselves. One day several years ago he happened to tell me that he had never been in southern Illinois. Not long afterward I had to make a trip through the southern part of the state, and I asked him to go along. He was delighted at the prospect of visiting places which he had known only in name for most of his life—Cairo, Mound City, Cave-in-Rock, Equality, Shawneetown, and so on. I doubt if he spent three happier days in his life than the three days of this trip. It was characteristic of his methods not only that he should buy photographs wherever we went, but also that he should continue his search for pictures long after our return—until, in fact, he had a complete pictorial record of the expedition.

During the first year of its existence, 1899-1900, Frank E. Stevens became a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and at the time of his death he was

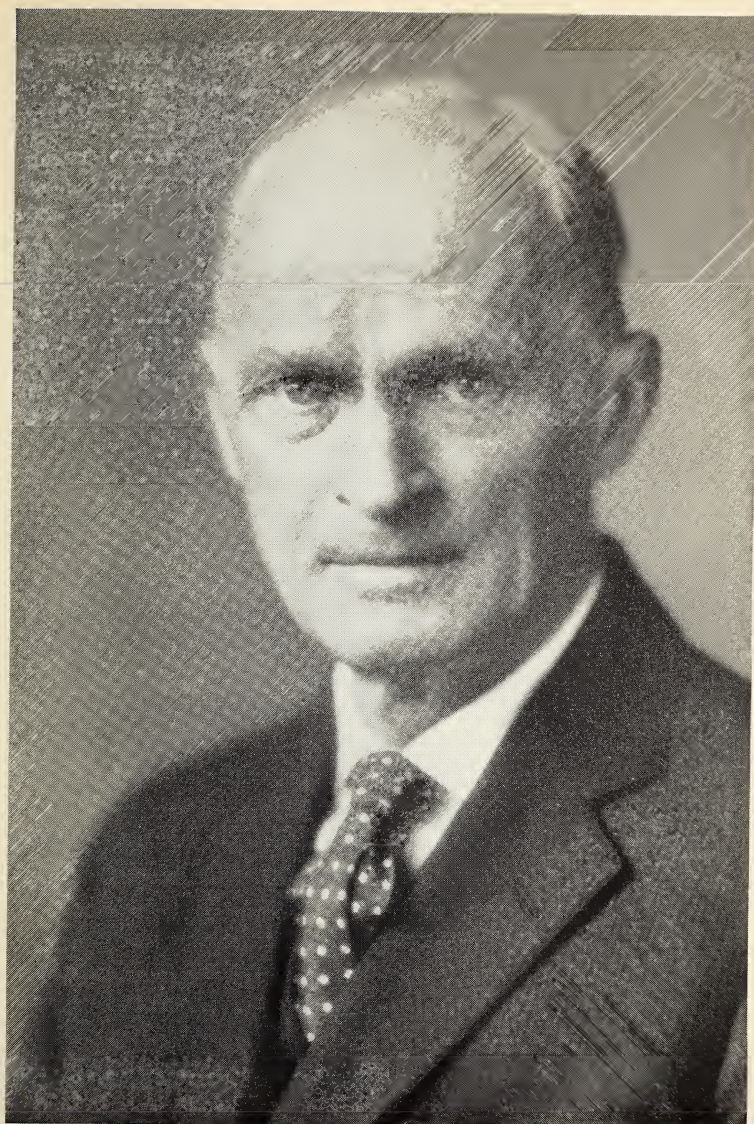
¹ *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1934.

² *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, September, 1909.

serving as one of the Society's vice-presidents. He never missed a meeting if attendance was possible, and in every way within his means he contributed to the Society's advancement.

It was the privilege of the Illinois State Historical Society to publish much of Mr. Stevens' historical writing. His first contribution, "Stillman's Defeat," an address which he had delivered at the dedication of the Stillman Valley Monument on June 11, 1902, appeared in the *Transactions* for that year. The *Journal* for October, 1911, contained an article by him on Hooper Warren. "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," a detailed study which has ranked as definitive since its appearance, was published in the *Transactions* for 1904. His sketch of Alexander Pope Field came out in the *Journal* for April, 1911. The *Journal* for October, 1912, contained the "Autobiography of Stephen A. Douglas," published with an introduction and notes by Mr. Stevens. In the *Transactions* for 1913 appeared "Stephen A. Douglas, the Expansionist." Then, as expanded issues of the *Journal* for October, 1923, and January, 1924, came his full-length biography of Douglas. "Pierre La Sallier: Lee County's First White Settler" was the title of the article written by Mr. Stevens which was printed in the October, 1937 *Journal*. Finally, in 1934 and 1939, appeared the recent contributions which have already been mentioned in another connection.

During these years Mr. Stevens was also publishing the results of his research in other ways. *The Black Hawk War* he published himself in 1903. Not long ago he told me how he tried fruitlessly to find a publisher. Since this was his first book he had no reputation upon which any expectation of sales could be based; the subject was



FRANK E. STEVENS

of purely local interest; and he insisted upon the use of a large number of illustrations, which would certainly make the book expensive to produce. But Frank E. Stevens was not one to be discouraged easily. If no publisher would take his manuscript, he himself would take the risk. This he did, and in a few months the entire edition was exhausted. Today *The Black Hawk War* commands a substantial premium.

In 1908 the Caxton Club of Chicago decided to reprint one of the most famous of Illinois classics, Wakefield's *History of the Black Hawk War*. Most appropriately, Mr. Stevens wrote the preface for the reprint and supplied annotations which greatly enhanced the value of the original. Since only 203 copies were printed, this is the rarest of all his writings. Also rare is his brochure, *James Watson Webb's Trip Across Illinois in 1822*, published by the *Sycamore Tribune* in 1924.

Altogether, these writings constitute a very substantial contribution to the historiography of Illinois. Their scope is all the more remarkable when one recalls that they were produced in the odd moments of a busy life; their quality is the more noteworthy in view of the fact that they were the work of a man whose formal education terminated when he was fifteen years of age.

Frank E. Stevens was born at Dixon, Illinois, on January 5, 1856, the oldest son of John Stevens and Marie La Porte Stevens. Early in the Civil War his father enlisted and was commissioned captain of Company H, 46th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Captain Stevens was killed at the Battle of Shiloh. By great sacrifices Mrs. Stevens kept the family together, and her oldest son was able to attend the public schools of Dixon until he was fifteen. At that age he became a deputy of the circuit

clerk and recorder of Lee County.

In that capacity Frank E. Stevens continued until 1875, when he was appointed deputy circuit clerk and recorder of DeKalb County. He removed to Sycamore, where he lived until 1882. In his spare time he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1877.

Lured by the Dakota boom of 1881-1882, Mr. Stevens removed to Huron, South Dakota, where he occupied the office of county treasurer and established the Beadle County Bank, later the Beadle County National Bank. Of this institution he served successively as cashier, vice-president and president. With the entrance of other institutions into the field, and as a result of continued crop failure, banking seemed to offer lean prospects, so in 1890 the Beadle National Bank paid off its depositors and closed its doors. In that same year Mr. Stevens removed to Chicago. There he opened a brokerage business, which he operated until 1907, when he moved back to Sycamore.

For eleven years, though residing at Sycamore, Mr. Stevens published and edited the *Dixon Weekly Citizen* at Dixon. In 1916, however, he purchased, with A. H. Resch, the *Sycamore Tribune*. Four years later he became sole owner. Under his management the paper grew rapidly in circulation and prestige. In 1928 he sold it, to live, as he thought then, in retirement for the balance of his life.

Retirement, however, did not mean inactivity. In 1931 he became a candidate for the office of mayor, to which he was elected, and in which he served with distinction. At the expiration of his term he was appointed to the War Records Division of the office of the Adjutant General at Springfield, by Governor Henry Horner, for

whom he had long held the highest regard. He served in this capacity until a short time before his death, when he became custodian of Memorial Hall in the Centennial Building at Springfield.

Mr. Stevens was a member of the Caxton Club, the Chicago Historical Society, and the Abraham Lincoln Association. He was a member of the Masonic Order for more than fifty years, a Knight Templar and a Royal Arch Mason. His religious affiliation was with the St. Peter's Episcopal Church of Sycamore.

On October 15, 1878, Frank E. Stevens was married to Sadie Lattin of Sycamore. Surviving him are his widow; a daughter, Mrs. Gordon Hicks of Chicago; and two grandchildren.

HISTORICAL NOTES

MERRY-GO-ROUND, 1850

A merry-go-round of 1850, trim in its bright paint, is still making the rounds of central Illinois fairs, homecomings and centennial celebrations. It is provided the best of care by its owner, Oral Ray, of Havana, Illinois.

When set up, its center hickory pole is guyed by four wire cables to the ground. Its eight white pine sweeps, all braced with hand forged steel rods, carry eight wooden seats with footrests, for there is no floor to this merry-go-round. A semi-circular platform at the center holds three chairs for musicians—a fiddler, a banjo player and a guitar player. A singletree is attached to an opposing sweep where the bay horse is hitched and treated with wisps of hay from an armful stored at the center pole platform.

The ballyhoo starts, musicians tune and swing into rhythm, ticket sales quicken and the seats begin to fill. An attendant snaps a rope guard across your lap, the driver mounts his sweep, lifts the long black reins, and the bay horse steps off to music.

Swinging its passengers over the green grass or village crossroads, the merry-go-round goes round. The fiddler taps his foot while the driver jigs and bobs on his sweep to "Red Wing" or "Golden Slippers," round after round in a cool eddy of evening air; then the horse and music stop; the rope guard is unsnapped for you to alight.

Village merry-go-rounds of the 1890's were not so gay. A circular revolving platform was set up, likewise powered by a horse hitched in an open sector near the center pole. A double row of "kitchen chairs" circled the outer edge of the floor, with fiddlers seated at opposite sides. Passengers rode in chairs. The fiddler's tricky foot tappings provided a compensating sight to children forbidden the ride "because it goes too fast and will make you dizzy."

MRS. OTTO DORR

CHANDLERVILLE, ILL.



OLD MERRY-GO-ROUND
As it appeared in 1939

FRANCES WINHOLD

1836-1939

Easily qualifying as Cass County's oldest inhabitant, Miss Frances Winhold, aged 102 years, 10 months, and 30 days, died on August 1, 1939 at the family home, three miles southwest of Bluff Springs. Her death was attributed to a pin scratch on her finger which resulted in a fatal infection.

Miss Winhold, known familiarly as "Aunt Fanny," was born on September 2, 1836 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to William and Barbara (Weber) Winhold. At the age of five years, she came with her parents to Cass County, Illinois, and soon afterwards located on the farm where her long and worthy life was spent. All of the immediate family preceded her in death—the brothers, Ferdinand and William, the sisters, Mesdames Pauline Muhlert, Amelia Arnoldi, Josephine Launer, and Marie Phillippi. Surviving in the home are Emma, Lulu, Laura, Pompeius, and William Phillippi, children of a deceased sister, who have vied with each other in the effort to make their aunt's declining years happy. Other nieces and nephews to the fifth generation also held her in high esteem. Despite her advanced age, Miss Winhold was mentally alert and retained the use of all her faculties. She was interested in all current news, but farm activities appealed especially to her. She had inherited a love of horses and in fact had a kindly feeling toward all domestic animals.

The traditions and customs of her earlier days meant more to her than the radio and other progressive marvels, for her the modern era being filled with things she termed "new-fangled." Well satisfied with her accustomed surroundings, she never married or desired a change of residence and was confidently looking forward to her one hundred and third birthday, the anniversary always celebrated by relatives and friends with a profusion of remembrances and calls. But the grim reaper intervened and the inevitable was met with cheerful resignation.

Funeral services were held at the homestead on the afternoon of Saturday, August 5, and attended by scores of people who knew and loved her. The Reverend K. Bruno Neuman, of the Lutheran faith to which she had always been loyal, was in charge of the impressive rites, which included a fitting eulogy and her favorite hymns sung

by close friends.

The casket was borne by men from the various branches of the family and a wealth of flowers covered the new mound in the nearby Jokisch Cemetery, where the Winhold pioneers are at rest.

ISABEL SNYDER

VIRGINIA, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE RELATIVITY OF SPACE

In one of my excursions on the frontiers of Missouri, I came to a small log cabin, with some five or six acres under improvement surrounding the house. The usual salutations were soon ended, and I found the occupant of this retired spot to be a man of the name of Rood, Justice of the Peace in Gasconade county; a section of the country well designated by the old woman's graphic sketch of her son's residence of a "few miles beyond the westward." The old man led my horse to the stable and returned to dinner; as he set a stool up to a large stump which occupied the place of a table, he said, with that hospitable bluntness so peculiar to the inhabitants of the western wilds, "Perhaps, stranger, you'll set up and skin a tater?" A good appetite wants no compliments; and in this case I think I used as few as a Yankee schoolmaster would in eating a luncheon with his scholars. After partaking of his bounty, I asked him how he liked the country, how long he had been there, &c. He answered, "I like the country well, but I am going to leave here." "You'll go to some place more convenient for schooling?" said I. "No" he replied, "No, I'm too much crowded—too much hampered up—I've no outlet—the range is all eat out—I'm too much crowded." "How," I responded, "crowded! Who crowds you?" "Why, here's Burns—right down upon me—right down in my very teeth—stuck right here! And then on the other side I'm hampered up—they're crowding too—they're jamming me out—the neighbors are too thick—I'll not stay here another season!" "Well, Mr. Rood, how near are your neighbors?" I asked. "Why, here's that Burns stuck down here within fifteen miles; and then on the other side they are not much further. I'll never live where a neighbor can come to my house and go home the same day!" Poor man, thought I, as I left his dwelling to resume my journey, you would not call this "crowding" if your family formed one of the layers where six or eight live one above another!

New Orleans Observer, May 2, 1835.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1855.—A partial list of railroad casualties for the year 1855, gives the number of accidents as 142; persons killed, 116; wounded, 539. Of steamboat accidents there have been 27; persons killed, 176; wounded, 107. During the year, 73 soldiers of the Revolution have died, and 43 persons were over 100 years of age. The oldest white man was 110; the oldest white woman, 109; oldest male, colored, 130; oldest female, colored, 120.

Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, Feb. 9, 1856, p. 95.

LINCOLN'S STORY OF JOE WILSON AND HIS "SPOTTED ANIMALS"

Although the friendly relations which existed between the President and Secretary Cameron were not interrupted by the retirement of the latter from the War Office, so important a change in the Administration could not of course take place without the irrepressible "story" from Mr. Lincoln. Shortly after this event some gentlemen called upon the President, and expressing much satisfaction at the change, intimated that in their judgment the interests of the country required an entire reconstruction of the Cabinet.

Mr. Lincoln heard them through, and then shaking his head dubiously, replied, with his peculiar smile: "Gentlemen, when I was a young man I used to know very well one Joe Wilson, who built himself a log-cabin not far from where I lived. Joe was very fond of eggs and chickens, and he took a good deal of pains in fitting up a poultry shed. Having at length got together a choice lot of young fowls—of which he was very proud—he began to be much annoyed by the depredations of those little black and white spotted animals, which it is not necessary to name. One night Joe was awakened by an unusual cackling and fluttering among his chickens. Getting up, he crept out to see what was going on.

"It was a moonlight night, and he soon caught sight of half a dozen of the little pests, which with their dam, were running in and out of the shadow of the shed. Very wrathful, Joe put a double charge into his old musket, and thought he would 'clean' out the whole

tribe at one shot. Somehow he only killed *one*, and the balance scampered off across the field. In telling the story, Joe would always pause here, and hold his nose.

" 'Why didn't you follow them up, and kill the rest?' inquired the neighbors.

" 'Blast it,' said Joe, 'why, it was eleven weeks before I got over killin' *one*. If you want any more skirmishing in that line you can just do it yourselves! "

*Anecdotes of Abraham Lincoln and Lincoln's
Stories* (J. B. MCCLURE, ed.), 63-64.

INCIDENTS OF FRONTIER LIFE

For some weeks past, an alarm has prevailed among some of the frontier citizens north of this place [Vandalia, Ill.], in consequence of some depredations committed by a party of Kickapoo Indians, on the house of a Mr. Ramsey. Some threats were made by the Indians, and perhaps some trifling property carried off.—They were pursued by the citizens of the settlement and some acts of violence might have been used in regaining it. For the purpose of ascertaining the number of Indians collected and their probable design, 3 gentlemen of this town, with the permission of the Governor, went to their encampment, about 45 miles north of this place on the south fork of the Sangamon.—About 200 warriors, (principally Kickapoos), had assembled within the compass of a few miles for the purpose, they say, of hunting. They have moved their encampment some 15 or 18 miles further down the Sangamon, and declared it their intention to return to the old Kickapoo towns, above Fort Clark.—They do not deny they are making preparations for war, but state it is for the purpose of joining the Cherokees to fight the Osages.—They intend leaving their squaws and children at the Kickapoo's towns in this State. It is however, believed, that they have no hostile designs on the whites.

*The Union, The United States Gazette
and True American*, May 15, 1822.

HOW TO GET RID OF MOSQUITOES

Are the Mosquitoes troublesome?—Mosquitoes are most numerous about streams and timbered districts. I never was much annoyed

by them, but some persons are very liable to their attacks, and they use various stratagems to get quit of them, one of which I will mention. You have got quietly ensconced in bed—you have forgiven your enemies—and owe nobody anything. You are, in short, a happy man. Presently you hear a low piping hum close upon you—the sound ceases—you suppose yourself mistaken and close your eyes. Immediately you jump up and rub your face—the deed of darkness has been consummated! The light footed gentry are about your bed, and you in vain seek sleep. What is now to be done? You remember the line of some observant poet, who says—

“Maids and moths are caught with glare,” and you go to work thus. The night is warm and you operate in your shirt. You deliberately open the door, and shut down all the windows. You take a bundle of straw, hay, or other light fuel, and set it on fire immediately in front of, and close to, the door, outside—you take up your post by the door cheek outside also, and observe with deep interest your tormentors, popping out one by one from the dark room to the light. As the flame wanes, add fresh fuel till the last musquitoe has evacuated your domicile. Then with a dexterous jerk throw yourself round the corner into the door, and shut it. You may then bid your foes good night, and go to bed.

JOHN REGAN, *The Western Wilds of America*, 405.

THE OLD TIME RELIGION

There happened to be at our quarterly meeting [1837] a fresh, green, live Yankee from down East. He had regularly graduated, and had his diploma, and was regularly called, by the Home Missionary Society, to visit the far-off West—a perfect moral waste, in his view of the subject; and having been taught to believe that we were almost cannibals, and that Methodist preachers were nothing but a poor, illiterate set of ignoramuses, he longed for an opportunity to display his superior tact and talent, and throw us poor upstarts of preachers in the West, especially Methodist preachers, into the shades of everlasting darkness. He, of course, was very forward and officious. He would, if I had permitted it, have taken the lead of our meeting. At length I thought I would give him a chance to ease himself of his mighty burden, so I put him up one night to read his sermon. The frame building we were worshipping in was not

plastered, and the wind blew hard; our candles flared and gave a bad light, and our ministerial hero made a very awkward out in reading his sermon. The congregation paid a heavy penance and became restive; he balked, and hemmed, and coughed at a disgusting rate. At the end of about thirty minutes the great blessing came: he closed, to the great satisfaction of all the congregation.

I rose and gave an exhortation, and had a bench prepared, to which I invited the mourners. They came in crowds; and there was a solemn power rested on the congregation. My little hot-house reader seemed to recover from his paroxysm of a total failure, as though he had done all right, and, uninvited, he turned in to talk to the mourners. He would ask them if they did not love Christ; then he would try to show them that Christ was lovely; then he would tell them it was a very easy thing to become a Christian; that they had only to resolve to be a Christian, and instantly he or she was a Christian. I listened a moment, and saw this heterodoxy would not do; that it produced jargon and confusion. I stepped up to him and said:

"Brother, you don't know how to talk to mourners. I want you to go out into the congregation, and exhort sinners."

He did not appear the least disconcerted, but at my bidding he left the altar, and out he went into the crowd, and turned in to talking to sinners. There was a very large man, who stood a few steps from the mourners, who weighed about two hundred and thirty pounds; he had been a professor, but was backslidden. The power of God arrested him, and he cried out aloud for mercy, standing on his feet. My little preacher turned round, and pressed back through the crowd; and coming up to this large man, reached up, and tapped him on the shoulder, saying,

"Be composed; be composed."

Seeing, and indistinctly hearing this, I made my way to him, and cried out at the top of my voice,

"Pray on, brother; pray on, brother; there's no composure in hell or damnation."

And just as I crowded my way to this convicted man, who was still crying aloud for mercy, the little preacher tapped him again on the shoulder, saying,

"Be composed; be composed, brother."

I again responded:

"Pray on, brother; pray on, brother; there is no composure in hell."

I said to the throng that crowded the aisle that led to the altar, "Do, friends, stand back, till I get this man to the mourner's bench."

But they were so completely jammed together that it seemed almost impossible for me to get through with my mourner. I let go his arm, and stepped forward to open the way to the altar, and just as I had opened the aisle, and turned to go back, and lead him to the mourners' bench, the Lord spoke peace to his soul, standing on his feet; and he cried, "Glory to God," and in the ecstasy of his joy, he reached forward to take me in his arms; but, fortunately for me, two men were crowded into the aisle between him and myself, and he could not reach me. Missing his aim in catching me, he wheeled round and caught my little preacher in his arms, and lifted him up from the floor; and being a large, strong man, having great physical power, he jumped from bench to bench, knocking the people against one another on the right and left, front and rear, holding up in his arms the little preacher. The little fellow stretched out both arms and both feet, expecting every moment to be his last, when he would have his neck broken. O! how I desired to be near this preacher at that moment, and tap him on the shoulder, and say, 'Be composed; be composed, brother!' But as solemn as the times were, I, with many others, could not command my risibilities, and for the moment, it had like to have checked the rapid flow of good feeling with those that beheld the scene; but you may depend on it, as soon as the little hot-bed parson could make his escape, he was missing.

Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, 370-72.

NEWS AND COMMENT

An Illinoisan is likely to think of Laurence M. Larson in terms of the thirty-one years which he spent as a member of the Department of History at the University. There he made the reputation in historical scholarship which led finally to the highest honor of the profession—election to the presidency of the American Historical Association; there he developed the interests which led him to serve willingly and effectively as a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society and as a Trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library.

The Log Book of a Young Immigrant,¹ however, is evidence that Professor Larson himself considered most important that period in his life which ended with his appointment to the University of Illinois in 1907. Born in Norway, brought by his parents to an Iowa farm when he was not quite two years old, his early life was a period of transition from the standards of the old world to those of the new. By 1907, in his opinion, the process was complete.

The Log Book of a Young Immigrant is the story of that process, told quietly but with grace and charm. It is also a contribution to the social history of the Middle West, for it deals in detail with life on an Iowa farm in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with Drake University in the nineties, and with school-teaching in rural and urban Wisconsin after the turn of the century. But above all it is a wise and mellow evaluation of the forces which made not only an American, but also a fine human spirit.



The observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Benjamin Lundy, mentioned in the September *Journal*, occasioned the publication of an excellent commemorative booklet entitled, *A Memorial to Benjamin Lundy, Pioneer Quaker Abolitionist, 1789-1839*.² Most of the *Memorial* is devoted to an account of Lundy's life and work by Fred Landon, Librarian of the University of Western On-

¹ Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn. \$3.00.

² Available from Lundy Memorial Committee, Henry, Ill. \$1.00.

tario, which will doubtless rank as the definitive biographical treatment for many years to come.

Included also are a chronology of Lundy's life, a bibliography, testimonials by prominent Americans, and a facsimile reproduction of the last number of Lundy's paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.



On September 17, 1939, the new bridge across the Illinois River at Hennepin was dedicated. On the same day the one hundredth anniversary of the Putnam County Courthouse was celebrated. In commemoration of both events an attractive and valuable booklet, entitled "*Over the River*,"³ was published. The booklet contains an account of the Hennepin bridge and the ferries which preceded it, by Walter A. Paxton; a history of Bureau and Putnam counties, by A. E. Stetson; and a history of the Putnam County Courthouse, by James E. Taylor. Several excellent photographs add value to the publication.



The Illinois State Archaeological Society, organized in 1938, issued the second number of its publication, the *Bulletin*, in September, 1939. Henceforth the *Bulletin* will appear every three months. The current issue contains articles by Irvin Peitham, Byron Knoblock, B. W. Stephens and Chauncey Finfrook, and also a section ("Flint Chips") devoted to personal news and notes. C. C. Burford, of Champaign, is editor.



Arenzville, Cass County, celebrated its centennial on September 20 and 21. A program which included a pageant, parade, and antique show was arranged by T. M. Coyle, centennial chairman, and various committees.

Francis Arenz, a Prussian immigrant, founded Arenzville in 1839. His brother, J. A. Arenz, made the necessary surveys at that time, but the town was not officially organized until 1859.

³ Hennepin Bridge Dedicatory Association, Hennepin, Ill. Twenty-five cents.

With a great Centennial Edition numbering 116 pages, the *Belleville Advocate* celebrated its one hundredth birthday on October 25, 1939. Although the *Advocate* was founded about the time that Charles Dickens described Belleville as "a small collection of wooden houses huddled together in the very heart of the bush and the swamp," the town gave the new paper sufficient support to assure its firm establishment.

The Centennial Edition achieves three objectives admirably: a description, both past and present, of the *Belleville Advocate*; a survey of Belleville and nearby communities today; and a history of Belleville and its vicinity. In historical material, in fact, the achievement is extraordinarily good. The historical articles cover a wide range of subjects, they are competently done, and they are profusely illustrated.



Dr. Frank S. Whitman of Belvidere was honored by the Boone County Historical Society on his ninetieth birthday anniversary, September 27. Because of illness he was not able to receive visitors, but many cards, letters, and flowers were sent to him. Dr. Whitman is believed to be the oldest living resident of Belvidere who was born in Boone County.



The Bureau County Historical Society held a membership drive in the fall with Hugh Ferris acting as chairman of the membership committee. A special effort has been made to have every community of the county represented in the Society.

Two new display cases for use in the museum of the Society have been presented by Arthur Norberg and David Pamp.



The Carlyle[†] Historical Society plans to furnish two rooms in the recently opened public library in Carlyle with antiques. This institution, known as the Case-Halstead Library, was made possible by donations from Eckstein Case of Cleveland, Ohio, who is a native of Carlyle.

The *Report* of the Canadian Historical Association for 1939 contains an interesting article, "Life and Customs in the French Villages of the Old Illinois Country," by J. M. Carrière of Northwestern University. Although brief, the article conveys a good idea of life in Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher as it existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mr. Carrière finds, moreover, that in these localities French customs survived until a few years ago, and that their traces have not yet been entirely obliterated.



The *Dundee Review* for October 13 asks a question which might well be put to many communities in the State of Illinois:

ECHO ANSWERS "WHY NOT?"

There are so many engaging things about these communities of ours—the two DundeEs, Angelo Carpenter's village to the north, Algonquin of Indian nomenclature farther on up the Fox—that we are constantly wishing for others to be added to them. We should like, for example, to see an Historical Society organized in each of these towns. We should like to see Carpentersville restore quaint old Library hall and house historical treasures there. We should like East Dundee to take one of the several fascinating old cobble stone or brick buildings over there and make it useful for a similar purpose. West Dundee has two buildings that it should preserve in community pride. One of these houses the bakery at the east side of the park. It was, almost 100 years ago, first a Presbyterian then a Congregational church, then the early home of German churches and schools. The other is the brick house at the southwest corner of Main and Sixth streets where there is a grocery store. This was originally a tavern on the post road when the mails were carried overland by stagecoach together with travelers between Chicago and Rockford. Later it was one of the Pinkerton cooperages, probably the cooperage of Robert Pinkerton, brother of the famous Allan, the detective. Either one of these buildings would make a neat gathering-place for the historical material which every year is growing less and less because it is not being taken care of. There are any number of women who, when occasion demands, can bring together inimitable exhibits of fine old things which belong to the past of these towns which has a charming flavor. Why not combine their ingenuity and ambition and work towards such a permanent end? A project, might we suggest, for the combined efforts of the women's clubs in these villages. Selah!

A bronze plaque marking the site of the Old Campbell Hotel in El Paso was unveiled on November 1 by the American Legion. Many people prominent in the early history of the state had been guests at the old Campbell Hotel which was built in 1863 and razed in 1938. General Grant was host at a reception there in 1880 and General John A. Logan is known to have stayed at the hotel when he was in El Paso.



The Local Community Fact Book, 1938,⁴ is a detailed statistical study of seventy-five communities within the limits of the city of Chicago. "The modern metropolis is a city of cities," the authors state. "It is a mosaic of little worlds, an aggregate of local communities, each one differentiated from the others by its characteristic function in the total economy and cultural complex of city life." Community existence and boundaries were determined on the basis of settlement, growth and history; trade areas; local institutions; and natural and artificial barriers.

In *The Local Community Fact Book, 1938*, two pages are devoted to each community. Included are a concise historical statement, a description of the community today, and tables of "social data" consisting in the main of detailed population statistics. The book was compiled by Louis Wirth and Margaret Furez.



The Chicago Historical Society observed the "back-to-college" movement in September by displaying college fashions of 1894 in its Costume Gallery. Another exhibit which attracted attention this fall was the Winchester repeating rifle used by Colonel William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill." This gun belongs to John Raymond Hand, son of the man who built railroad cars for Cody's traveling circus.



After a lapse of two and one-half years, publication of the *Bulletin* of the Chicago Historical Society has been resumed. The current

⁴ Chicago Recreation Commission. Copies for sale by Municipal Reference Library, City Hall, Chicago.

issue (October, 1939; Vol. II, No. 4) is a distinguished one, and gives rise to the hope that the *Bulletin* will appear regularly in the future. Included are the first installment of a detailed account of the Chicago fire by H. A. Musham, the son of the foreman of the first fire company to respond to the original alarm; a short article, "John Boyle, First Governor of Illinois Territory," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, editor of the *Bulletin*; and an account of recent developments at the Chicago Historical Society, by L. Hubbard Shattuck, the Society's Director.



The John Crerar Library has reprinted from the *University Record* a biographical sketch of John Crerar, by Professor Thomas W. Goodspeed. The time is fast passing—perhaps has already passed—when many residents even of Chicago can recall John Crerar the industrialist, but it is certain that his name will be known far into the future as the founder of a great library. The interest of Professor Goodspeed's excellent sketch is enhanced by the complete text of John Crerar's will—a document as truly indicative of its author's character as anything anyone else might write.



The Hyde Park Golden Jubilee celebration, held September 14-17, aroused new interest in the history of the community which may result in the formation of a Hyde Park Historical Society. Members of the historical research committee of the Hyde Park Jubilee collected a quantity of historical data which will prove useful to such a society if organized. Paul H. Douglas, general chairman of the Jubilee, Pierre De Mets, vice-chairman, and Nick John Matsoukas, managing director, have been active in their support of the proposed historical society.



The Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association held its sixth annual reunion on September 28. Slides depicting the early history of the community were shown and O. F. Duensing was the guest speaker of the evening. A display of historical pictures and relics,

arranged by members of the Association, was exhibited at the John Toman branch library at this time.

The Lawndale-Crawford Association now has a total membership of 700. Larned E. Meacham is president of the organization.



Nearly two hundred people attended the dinner meeting of the Morgan Park Historical Society on October 14. To this event both old and new residents of Beverly Hills and Morgan Park were cordially invited. It marked the close of a week of celebration commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the annexation of Morgan Park to Chicago. David Herriott acted as toastmaster on this occasion.

The following officers have been elected by the Morgan Park Society this year: David Herriott, president; Clara German, first vice-president; Dr. F. B. Clemmer, second vice-president; Edward T. Clissold, secretary; Eunice Short, treasurer; and Marion Barnes, librarian.



The Oak Park Historical Society had a display of historical relics at its October meeting. Klaburn B. Wilson is president of this organization.



"Old Roads to Riverside" was the topic of discussion at the meeting of the Riverside Historical Society on October 20. Mrs. Schofield B. Gross, Mrs. D. Harry Hammer, and Colonel Robert Isham Randolph read selections from writings about early Chicago and the western area adjoining it. Miss Josephine Sherman is president of the Riverside Society.



The South Shore Historical Society opened the fall season with a meeting on October 6. The sound film, "From Trees to Tribunes," presented by J. F. Gillespie by courtesy of the *Chicago Tribune*, was the main feature of the evening. Community singing led by Andrew

Reed, Jr., and a skit depicting Y.M.C.A. camp life, given by a group of boys under the leadership of Morgan Fitch, Jr., were also on the program. The Society reported a total of 376 members on this date.



A mid-Victorian atmosphere prevailed at the first fall meeting of the Woodlawn Historical Society on October 13. Various exhibits were arranged to show what life in Woodlawn was like some fifty years ago. Hostesses at tea tables were dressed in costumes of that period. A program presenting various phases of Woodlawn's development was arranged by Mrs. William Rothmann, program chairman. Mrs. M. D. Miller discussed Woodlawn's clubs, recreation was the subject for Dr. George G. Knapp and Mrs. Paul I. Pierson, schools were treated by Mrs. C. I. Palmer, politics by Frank J. O'Brien, churches by Mrs. W. A. Evans, commerce by Frank I. Phillis, and transportation by Miss Marian Bragdon.



One of the largest and most active of local historical societies in Illinois is the West Side group in Chicago which now has 400 members. This organization has assembled a historical collection which is housed and cared for at the Henry E. Legler Regional Branch Library. This exhibit now contains over a thousand items. Other activities undertaken by the Society include an essay contest among the elementary and high schools of the west side, the publication of a semi-annual bulletin, the direction of tours to historic spots on the west side, and the organization of junior chapters of the Society in the schools of the community.

On October 23 the tenth annual early settlers' meeting was held. The program was planned to interest both young people and "old timers." The guest speaker on this occasion was Frank A. Hecht whose subject was "The West Side Faces the Future." On October 29 the Society's tour to the site of the French forts of Palos Hills was made. This trip was planned for last spring but inclement weather made it necessary to postpone it until fall.

Until a generation ago genealogical compilation and publication were confined in the main to New England and the states of the eastern seaboard. In recent years, however, interest in this field of investigation has grown tremendously in the Middle West. A number of fine genealogical collections have been established—among them that of the Illinois State Historical Library—and patronage has increased year by year. Moreover, the fruits of research are embodied more and more frequently in publications.

Typical of these is *A Genealogy and History of Jacques Timothe Boucher Sieur de Monbreun and his Ancestors and Descendants*, compiled and published by Kathryn De Monbreun Whitefort of St. Elmo, Illinois. Central figure of the booklet is a Canadian-born Illinois trader who served with Clark in his Illinois campaigns and later as county lieutenant of the County of Illinois. In addition to the biographical sketch of De Monbreun, Mrs. Whitefort's publication contains a genealogical record of his ancestors and descendants.

Quite similar is a booklet entitled *Canada Settlement, Ogle County, Illinois*, by Ina Poole of Polo, Illinois, published by the Tri-County Press, Polo. Canada Settlement is the name of a community in Ogle County founded a hundred years ago by a number of participants in the unsuccessful revolution of 1837 in Canada. The booklet contains a number of reminiscences, and also genealogies of the Lawrence, Poole, Sanborn and Slater families.



September 16 was the closing date for the DuPage County centennial celebration which had been in progress all spring and summer. On this date an elaborate parade was held in Naperville and in the evening a centennial ball was given at the Medinah Country Club. At the latter event, 100 silver dollars were distributed to commemorate the county's one hundredth anniversary.

The village of Winfield, the smallest incorporated village in DuPage County, took the occasion of the county's centennial celebration to observe its own centennial. George Higgins was general chairman of the program of events presented the week of August 8-12.

Westmont took its part in the DuPage Centennial on September 2-4 when a program to suit a variety of interests was provided. Mayor Louis Ceithmal was general chairman.

The members of the Edgar County Historical Society heard Miss Elsie Tate give a travel talk when they gathered in Paris for their meeting on October 21. Miss Tate described places of interest in the Mediterranean and the Scandinavian countries which she visited last summer.



A group of citizens of Albion and nearby communities who are interested in preserving the history of their county have organized an Edwards County Historical Society. A committee, appointed by the American Legion, meeting with representatives of service clubs and other citizens during the summer was chiefly responsible for the formation of this organization.

At the first meeting of the group, Dr. W. A. Wheeler was elected president, Fred Stroup, vice-president, Miss Alice Bradshaw, secretary, Mrs. Carro Craig Long, corresponding secretary, and Harry Glover, treasurer. Annual dues were placed at fifty cents per member and meetings are held once a month. A room has been secured in the Albion Library building for the display of historical relics, pictures, etc. E. L. Dukes is custodian of the museum and Miss Anna Frankland is chairman of the collecting committee.



Years of work on the part of the Federal Writers' Project in Illinois culminated this fall in the publication of *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide*,⁵ a solid volume which will doubtless be known in the future as the "Illinois Guide." Appropriately published under the sponsorship of Governor Henry Horner, the "Illinois Guide" contains more data about the Prairie State, interestingly and effectively presented, than can be found between covers anywhere else.

Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide is an octavo volume of 687 pages, with sixty-four full-page illustrations which exemplify pictorial reproduction at its very best. Part One consists of fourteen essays on such subjects as the geography of Illinois, its history, its industries, government and education, art, architecture and literature. Especially noteworthy is the essay, "Man of Illinois," by Governor Horner himself. Part Two consists of descriptions of

⁵ A. C. McClurg & Co. \$2.50.

twenty Illinois towns and cities. Part Three is a description, historical as well as contemporary, of every nook and corner of Illinois, systematized by arrangement in twenty-two Tours. The book concludes with a selected list of fifty books about Illinois and a chronology of the State from 1673 to 1937.

In both interest and accuracy, the "Illinois Guide" sets a high standard. All those who have contributed to it—and particularly John T. Frederick, the Regional Director of the Federal Writers' Project—deserve high commendation.



One of the latest volumes of inventories of the county archives of Illinois, compiled and published by the Historical Records Survey, is that for Fayette County (No. 26). Like its predecessors, it contains a concise history of the county, a description of its system of records, and a detailed account of the records themselves. In format, however, this volume is a distinct improvement. Through the use of planographing, the dimensions have been reduced to six by nine inches; by the substitution of thinner paper, bulk has been cut in half. From the librarians who must find space for a never-diminishing flow of books lusty cheers should be forthcoming.



The *Inventory of the County Archives of Illinois, Morgan County* (No. 69) is another publication of the Historical Records Survey which has recently appeared. It contains a somewhat fuller account of the county government and its development than most of its companion studies. In the main, of course, the book is devoted to a comprehensive description of existing county records.



The Trovillion Private Press "at the sign of the silver horse," Herrin, Illinois, announces the publication, in the fall of 1939, of two unusual books. One is a reprint of a rare old volume dealing with the arts of cooking and beauty culture in Elizabethan England—*Delightes for Ladies*, by Sir Hugh Plat. Although popular enough to run through several editions at the time of publication, this book

has not been reprinted for nearly three hundred years. The other publication is entitled *A Baker's Dozen*, the first publication in book form of a number of essays by the English author, Llewelyn Powys.

The Trovillion Private Press is the only private press in down-state Illinois.



A Lincoln pilgrimage was made by members of the Indiana Historical Society and the Society of Indiana Pioneers on October 7-8. Headquarters were established in Springfield, Illinois, and places of interest about the city were visited. A tour of New Salem State Park was also made. Harry E. Pratt, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, and Paul M. Angle, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, were speakers at the dinner held on the evening of October 7.



"Trails, Dams and Bridges in Dixon" was the subject on which E. E. Wingert spoke to members of the Lee County Historical Society on October 23. To supplement the lecture, Senator George Dixon—at whose home the Society met—had arranged an interesting exhibit of historical documents, pictures, and other articles.



On October 18, 1939, the *Lincoln Courier* celebrated the completion of its new plant and the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Logan County with a Centennial-Courier Building Edition. Numbering forty-eight pages, the edition contains numerous historical accounts of incidents and institutions in Logan County. The city of Lincoln enjoys the unique distinction of being the only city of the name in the country to be named before the death of Abraham Lincoln. It has the further distinction of being one of the Eighth Circuit towns in which Lincoln regularly practiced law.



Members of the Illinois State Historical Society and many others who are interested in the life of Lincoln will be grateful to Richard

Booker for compiling a *Check List of Lincolniana in the Journals and Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society*.⁶ The *Check List*, which covers the dates 1899-1938, lists all articles under the authors' names and includes a subject index in which reference is made to the pertinent articles. In format the *Check List* is identical to the present format of the Society's *Journal*.



At the dinner meeting of the Quincy and Adams County Historical Society on October 14, Harry J. Lytle of Davenport spoke on "Lincoln's New Salem." His lecture was illustrated with pictures.

The history of Quincy passed in review on October 13 when the first performance of the Quinsippi cavalcade was held in the Stadium. This pageant climaxed the second day of Quinsippi, a fall celebration sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.



The Peoria County Old Settlers' and Historical Association held its seventy-second annual reunion and picnic at Glen Oak Park on August 30. The principal speaker was N. Curtis Cation. At the business session all officers were re-elected. They are: Eugene Brown, president; George T. Page, first vice-president; George Alfs, second vice-president; William E. Stone, treasurer; Mrs. Josephine, Thurlow, recording secretary; and Albert F. Gury, Jr., secretary-manager.

The Peoria Historical Society is holding its meetings on the third Monday of every month this year. Howard Hunter is chairman of programs. The Society assisted the local post of the American Legion last fall in sponsoring a contest for designs for a city flag.



The Rock Island County Historical Society set the impressive figure of 1,000 as its goal in the membership campaign opened in September. It is expected, however, that this number will not be

⁶ The Home of Books, Inc., Chicago. \$1.00.

reached until next spring. Professor Henry F. Staack is chairman of the membership committee.

The fall meeting of the Society was held at Hampton on September 27. Professor Staack outlined the objectives of the organization and the plans for the membership campaign. State Representative Clinton Searle and Professor C. L. Nordstrom made the principal addresses of the evening. Preceding the meeting the "Old Curiosity Shop" of Charles Sikes in Hampton was visited by those interested in seeing antiques associated with the early history of Rock Island County.

The seventy-third annual reunion of the Rock Island County Old Settlers' and Pioneers' Association was held at the Black Hawk State Park museum on September 7. Morris S. Heagy, president of this group, gave the opening address. Dan H. McNeal and E. B. McKown were the principal speakers on the program. More than seventy of the older residents of Rock Island County were registered.



More than a hundred years ago a town was platted in a promising location on the Fox River, and the proposed name of "Charleston" was duly recorded. But when it was discovered that the county seat of Coles County was already so designated, another name had to be found. It was to commemorate that rechristening that St. Charles, Illinois held a fall festival on September 2, 3, and 4. Otto A. Elliott was general chairman of the events which included a "Venetian night," speeches, and a parade and pageant.



In *Hickory Sam*⁷ Clara Oncken tells the tale of a boy's life in the Sangamon country of a century ago. It is a tale of pioneers on the prairie—of grinding labor on new-made farms, of boisterous sports and fights, of camp meetings, of rough justice, of a flatboat trip to New Orleans. Through it all moves a sturdy youngster with ambition, who finally finds himself on the way to Illinois College with a career as a country doctor on the horizon. Miss Oncken tells a good story against a vivid background of pioneer life.

⁷ Henry Holt & Co. \$2.00.

A reorganization meeting of the Schuyler County Historical Society was held on September 11 in Rushville. By that date one hundred and seventy-one persons had signed up for membership. Annual membership dues are \$1.00 apiece. The following officers were elected for the year 1939-1940: Howard F. Dyson, president; Miss Carrie R. Sparks, first vice-president; Robert A. Lawler, second vice-president; Mrs. Lillian Leach, secretary; and Guy H. Miller, treasurer.



The Stark County Historical Society plans to remove the old office building of Dr. Thomas Hall in Toulon to the library grounds and to restore the building as nearly as possible to its original condition. This building, one of the oldest office buildings of an individual doctor in the State of Illinois, was donated to the Stark County Society with the stipulation that a suitable site be provided for it.

At the fall meeting of the Stark County Historical Society on September 18, it was announced that fifty new members had recently joined the organization. The old officers of the Society have been re-elected: H. W. Walker, president; Mrs. E. P. Reeder, vice-president; Miss Annie Lowman, secretary; Miss Clara McKenzie, treasurer.



Abraham Lincoln, A Biography in Pictures,⁸ by Agnes Rogers, is the first successful attempt at a graphic story of Lincoln's life. Depending principally on photographs, and to a much lesser extent on contemporary prints, the author achieves a degree of reality almost impossible through words alone. An explanatory text supplements the pictures.

Brady's photographs of the Civil War, which rightly are an important feature of the book, have never been reproduced more effectively than in this volume. Considering the primitive equipment with which he worked, the results achieved sometimes border on the miraculous.

Several of the pictures used in *Abraham Lincoln, A Biography in Pictures*, were supplied by the Illinois State Historical Library.

⁸ Little Brown and Co. \$2.00.

Formation of a Vandalia Historical Society was occasioned by the restoration work begun by the State of Illinois on the old Statehouse at Vandalia. The chief immediate object of this group is to help the State secure original furniture and fixtures used in the old Statehouse, or similar pieces where this is impossible. Joseph C. Burtschi was elected president of the new Society and Eulalia Perkins was chosen secretary-treasurer.



The memory of one of the nineteenth century's outstanding women was honored on September 28 when Miss Frances E. Willard's one hundredth birthday anniversary was observed. The Daughters of the American Revolution marked her grave in Rosehill Cemetery in Chicago with an inscription at this time. A "Willard Week" was observed in Evanston, where Miss Willard lived. Pilgrimages were made by school children to her old home, "Rest Cottage;" several newspaper articles were published in observance of the occasion; and special exhibits were prepared by the Evanston Public Library and the Evanston Historical Society.



Another centennial celebration which led to the formation of a historical society was the one observed in Williamson County last fall. The Centennial Association of that county, which was largely responsible for the splendid anniversary program arranged at that time, has now expanded its objectives and changed its name to the Williamson County Historical Association.

The following officers have been elected: Fred H. Harrison, president; Mrs. Estelle Colp, vice-president; L. A. Sanders, secretary; E. M. Stotlar, treasurer; and Mrs. Roscoe Parks, archivist. The Pioneer Daughters and Pioneer Sons of Williamson County are affiliated organizations.



The Winnetka Historical Society held its first fall meeting on October 25. Slides showing scenes of the village in 1870 were shown. Mrs. Frederick Dickinson is the new program chairman.

The Woodford County Historical Society announces that the following officers were elected on August 31: L. J. Freese, president; W. H. Foster, vice-president; Mrs. Bertha Snyder, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Lillian Theena and E. U. Ridge, custodians.

CONTRIBUTORS

T. Walter Johnson, author of the prize-winning essay on Peter Akers, is an Assistant on the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago. He is now engaged in writing his doctor's thesis. . . . Joseph I. Lambert is a Major of Cavalry in the United States Army, stationed in Chicago. He is the author of *One Hundred Years with the Second Cavalry*. . . . Harry L. Wilkey, the author of the third article in this issue, has used the thesis which he submitted for the master's degree at the University of Illinois in 1938 as the basis for his paper. Mr. Wilkey is a Social Science Instructor in the Community High School at Camp Point, Illinois. . . . Jay Monaghan will be remembered as the author of other articles which have appeared in the *Journal*—his description of the W.P.A. foreign language newspaper project in Chicago was published in October, 1937 and his sketch of Buffalo Bill's stage career in December, 1938. He is Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library. . . . Paul M. Angle is Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library and Editor of this *Journal*.





